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# Near East/South Asia Report

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ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

#### SCHOOL PRINCIPAL DISCUSSES SITUATION OF IRAN ARMENIANS

Beirut AZTAG in Armenian 19 Jul 85 p 3

[Text] Archimandrite Manuel Poladian who is on a summer vacation trip to Europe and North America from Tehran has stopped over in Beirut to visit his relatives.

In addition to his spiritual duties, the archimandrite also serves as the principal of the Alishan secondary school in Tehran. He also writes frequently, and his articles are published in the Tehran ALIK.

During his stay in Beirut, Poladian attempted to visit AZTAG's editorial offices, but because of the well-known security situation in our country he could not come to our offices. However, he requested to see a member of the AZTAG staff. We had an unscheduled but pleasant meeting with him, and we present to our readers excerpts from the conversation we had.

[Question:] Archimandrite, is this your first visit to Lebanon?

[Answer:] I have visited Lebanon on several previous occasions, mainly because I am a Lebanese citizen and my kinsfolk live in Bourj Hammoud.

[Question:] How long has it been since you moved to Tehran?

[Answer:] As soon as I graduated from the seminary and I was ordained, they dispatched me from Rome to Tehran while I was still very young to serve as the prelate of the area's Catholic community.

[Question:] What is your current position and the scope of your mission?

[Answer:] I am the founder and caretaker of Tehran's Alishan secondary school. I founded the school 23 years ago. The school has 900 students at the certificate and breve levels.

[Question:] Is the Alishan school coeducational?

[Answer:] It was coeducational prior to the Islamic revolution. After the revolution the school was barred from having coeducational classes, so that it was divided into two schools: a middle-school for girls and a high school for

boys. Two schools side by side... Previously we operated from a single unitary building. Now the building is divided into two. We have always had only Armenian students in our school. We have never had any foreign students. That situation helped us to continue as an Armenian school. Because there were some Armenian schools which had admitted foreign students; those schools were barred from operating and were closed down.

[Question:] How is the teaching of the Armenian language accomplished?

[Answer:] We are allowed to have two hours of religion classes each week. But following appeals and protests by members of the community and parents in particular we reached an understanding [with the government] to have additional classes of Bible and religious studies which are taught in Armenian. Presently, some of the difficulties have been resolved, and we are hopeful that the teaching of the Armenian language will gradually improve. Religious studies could not have been taught in a foreign language; we were subsequently able to obtain the government's kind permission to continue teaching our religion in Armenian.

Our Islamic Majlis representative, Vartan Vartanian, recently visited our school and stated that there is much hope that all our demands will be satisfactorily fulfilled.

[Question:] Sir, are there many Armenians who are emigrating?

[Answer:] Unfortunately, too many people are emigrating. It is very unfortunate that this great community, the Iranian-Armenian community, has begun to fall apart. Families sell all their property and emigrate. After my return from one my previous tours I wrote a series of articles in ALIK entitled: "The Western Side of the Armenian World of Migration." During my second tour I studied the Armenian communities in America, and I wrote another series of articles entitled: "Where Do You Go Armenians of the Diaspora?"

[Question:] Which parts of America have you visited?

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[Answer:] I have visited all parts of North America from California to Canada. After my last year's tour I wrote a series of articles entitled: "The Mashdotsian Bell Tolls in the Armenian World of Migration."

[Question:] What did you try to do and say by those articles?

[Answer:] I tried to point out the condition of all Armenian schools, what their future is and what awaits them. I wrote at the conclusion of my articles: "The bell is sad; it tolls sadly."

[Question:] What is the current state of the Armenian cultural life in Iran?

[Answer:] The Armenian cultural life became undescribably dynamic after the revolution. There was a surprising resurgence. Before the revolution there were only a few theater groups. Now there are six or seven theater groups and they stage plays in Armenian. There is also a lively social and athletic scene. They have become very lively.

[Question:] What bodies govern the Armenian schools today?

[Answer:] All Armenian schools have their parents administrations. I must state that the Armenian parents exhibited great courage in defending their rights on the teaching of the Armenian language and other educational issues. Had it not been for these outspoken parents there would be no student body. The parents administrations are bodies recognized by the Iranian ministry of education. The parents played a major role. Of course, we also have the central board of trustees for the schools. The community displayed unity on educational and school issues. We are all working together to continue to offer Armenian education in our schools. We have been able to get pertinent government authorities to talk to us and they are prepared to listen to our requests.

[Question:] What is the size of the Iranian-Armenian community at present?

[Answer:] We had 200,000 people before, but nearly 20,000 have emigrated. Our position is very different from those of other communities. The present Iranian government has great confidence in and sympathy for the Armenian community. When it asks us for soldiers, we give them. Our young men fight on the front. So far 60 to 70 our young men have been martyred. Government officials visit with great respect the parents and families of martyred Armenian soldiers. We have donated blood to the wounded.

There have been instances when machines and vehicles have broken down on the front. Armenian mechanics have gone and repaired the machines. On two occasions 17 to 20 Armenian mechanics went to the front and repaired malfunctioning vehicles. The Iranian people and government deeply appreciate the Armenian community which has always stood by the side of the Iranian nation. The Iranian-Armenian community has always remained loyal to its homeland and has always fulfilled its civic duties.

[Question:] Are there any Armenians who are emigrating to Soviet Armenia?

[Answer:] Yes. Some people from the rural areas who could not go before are going there now.

Archimandrite Manuel Poladian is optimistic that life in Iran will eventually improve and that the existing difficulties will be overcome. He opposes emigration because he has personally observed that outside the Middle East only assimilation awaits the Armenians.

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ALGERIA

#### LONG-TERM AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH YUGOSLAVIA

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 2-3 Aug 85 pp 1, 3

[Text] A document, signed on Wednesday at midnight in Zagreb by Belkacem Nabi, member of the Central Committee and minister of energy and chemical and petrochemical industries, and Rade Pavlovic, the Yugoslav federal secretary for energy, at the end of 3 days of meetings held in Belgrad, Bled and Zagreb, established that Algeria and Yugoslavia will strengthen their cooperation in the chemical and petrochemical industries, engineering and construction.

This document was drawn on the wake of the important agreement signed on Tuesday in Bled, pertaining to the sale of 20 billion cubic meters of gas over a 20-year period and of 500,000 to 1 million tons of petroleum. Cooperation between the two friendly and non-aligned countries is strengthened and becomes more than a commercial exchange, thus reaching the higher level advocated by the Algerian and Yugoslav leaders.

Belkacem Nabi, member of the Central Committee and minister of energy and chemical and petrochemical industries of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria made a working and friendly visit to Yugoslavia from 29 July to 1 August 1985. He had been invited by Rade Pavlovic, member of the Executive Council of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and president of the Yugoslav Federal Committee for Energy and Industry.

Belkacem Nabi was accompanied by a delegation made up of high officials from his ministerial department and from enterprises under his trusteeship.

During his stay, the minister of energy and chemical and petrochemical industries was received by Janez Zemljaric, vice-president of the Federal Executive Committee and met Zivorad Kovacevic, member of the Federal Executive Committee and co-president of the Joint Algerian-Yugoslav Commission, the prime minister of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and Branko Zekan, minister of foreign affairs of the Socialist Republic of Croatia.

In addition, he visited the INA (Zagreb Naphta Industry) industrial facilities in Zagreb.

Balkacem Nabi's visit is part of the continued discussions on the strengthening and development of bilateral relations in the energy and chemical and petrochemical industries especially taken up during Rade Pavlovic's visit to Algeria from 17 to 20 May 1984.

The two parties were pleased with the outstanding development of the commercial, economic and technical relations between the two countries in areas coming under their competency.

This positive development, noted in the midst of a difficult international economic situation, answers the aspirations of the two countries which are working unceasingly at bringing further lasting economic relations among developing countries and giving a concrete content to the South-South cooperation endorsed by Algeria and Yugoslavia.

The extensive exchange of delegations, especially economic agents, between the two countries, made it possible, within the framework of working conditions defined by the highest officials of the two countries, to delineate better the needs and capabilities of each party, for the purpose of establishing long-term relations.

Consequently, as part of long-term agreements, Algeria will ensure the supply of natural gas and brut petroleum to Yugoslavia on a commercial basis.

These agreements, which were signed during Belkacem Nabi's visit to Yugoslavia, call for:

Supplying 500,000 tons per year for a six (6) year period beginning in 1985, under the terms of the brut petroleum contract; and as the first stage of a 20-year gas agreement, supplying one billion cubic meters per year through the Algerian-TunisianItaly gas pipeline.

This agreement partially covers the energy needs of Yugoslavia which is guaranteed a reliable supply source at a time when gas supply programs are being prepared for the 1990 decade.

In another connection, the processes needed to strengthen and diversify the exchange of products between the two countries were reviewed.

In that context, officials of these two countries, whose relations are frequent and continuous, will have to complete the implementation of all the cooperation regulation aimed at achieving this goal, in particular for identified new products.

From the viewpoint of economic and technical cooperation, the discussions enabled the participants to pinpoint their best exchangeable knowledge and the satisfactory progress of jointly considered projects.

Consequently, there are, in particular, plans to create joint companies, implement joint projects, some in third countries, and step up scientific and technical exchanges.

A first agreement pertaining to the creation of a joint company in the field of automatic control instruments will be finalized before the end of the current year.

Similar agreements are also in the process of being drawn for the manufacture of equipment and spare parts intended for energy-hydrocarbon installations.

In the same manner, the pairing of industrial units will be established in the chemical and petrochemical industries in order to promote the exchange of know-how, for a better command of industrial output and product development.

This type of cooperation through the organization of direct relations between parties will make it possible to increase the opportunities for participation and the establishment of middle and long-term programs.

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ALGERIA

HOCINE BEN MALEM ATTENDS OFFICER TRAINING SCHOOL GRADUATION

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 2-3 Aug 85 pp 1, 3

[Text] The Tiaret Officer Training School was the site of a graduation ceremony last Wednesday for the fifth officer graduating class of the National Service.

This ceremony was presided over by General Hocine Ben Malem, member of the Central Committee and chief of the Second Military Region.

General Hocine Ben Malem, member of the Central Committee and chief of the Second Military Region, presided over the graduation ceremony of the fifth officer training class of the National Service, baptized, in the name of the chahid, "Colonel Mohamed Larbi Ben M'hidi." It was attended by several ANP [People's National Army] senior officers. The ceremony took place at the Tiaret Officer Training School on Wednesday.

Welcomed at the entrance of the school by Lieutenant-Colonel Bachir Mouffok, commander of the training school, before being greeted by senior officers and the authorities of the Tiaret and Tissemsilt governorates, General Hocine Ben Malem passed in review all the men of that graduating class.

As part of the ceremony, the school commander gave a speech that emphasized the goals assigned to the school since its opening in September 1983 and its mission in the training of young officers through the scientific and highly qualified education it is providing in an effort to increase the number of cadres entering the national economy.

Ranks and prizes were awarded to the adjutants of the graduating class at the end of the swearing-in ceremony by the new officers of the National Service.

Prior to parading in impecable fashion before General Hocine Ben Malem, the officers of the graduating class handed over the school emblem to the new incoming officers' class.

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ALGERIA

#### PLANNING PREVENTS USUAL HARVESTING PROBLEMS

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 5 Aug 85 p 1

[Article by Said Smail: "The Achievements of the 'Aissat Idir' Domain"]

[Text] The harvesting-threshing season for the whole Tizi Ouzou governorate is due to end tomorrow, 6 August. This campaign, which began last 15 June with barley and oats, mobilized 29 harvesters-threshers. As of 29 July, it had reached 88 percent of its goal with 5,476 hectares yielding 64,100 quintals.

According to our bureau, this campaign took place without serious problems insofar as it had been well prepared.

The achievements of the "Aissat Idir" domain of Draâ el Mizan, with a record yield of 40 quintals per hectare, should be used as an example.

The harvesting-threshing season is underway under good conditions in the Tizi Ouzou governorate where a record yield of 40 quintals per hectare has been achieved by the "Aissat Idir" domain of Draâ el Mizan. The same domain reached a yield of approximately 30 quintals per hectare in its other locations.

This result is better appreciated when viewed against the forecasted figure of an approximate yield of 16 quintals per hectare for the whole governorate.

Getting back to the harvest proper, let us note that good planning gave it an edge right from the start. The participants did not wait for operations to begin to "improvise" as it was unfortunately done in a recent past. They got down to work on time for the good conduct of the operations, each contributing in their own capacity, the material, human or organizational means at their disposal.

Thus, one of the major problems encountered by the participants, i.e., maintaining the harvesting equipment, was resolved by setting up four mobile intervention teams with the help of ONAMA [National Agricultural Equipment Office] and the CASSAR [Agricultural Cooperatives of Rural Development] of Bordj Menaiel. These teams go directly to the working sites throughout the whole governorate. Thus the detrimental problem of lengthy machinery breakdowns during the harvest is avoided.

Another problem detrimental to the output was also solved this year. It concerns shelling due to late harvesting. Starting and carrying out the harvesting and threshing at the proper time was enough to eliminate it.

The DAP technicians organized demonstrations to show motor pool chiefs and the drivers of the harvesters-threshers how to perform routine tune ups and maintenance work on the machinery.

Threshing areas (stationary stations) were also created in harvesting centers organized for the private farmers in the communes and socialist agricultural domains. Night crews were organized and overtime allowed each time it was possible.

Fire prevention measures were taken, i.e., fire extinguishers for the machinery, installation of water cisterns on the work sites, etc.

Thus the 1985 harvesting-threshing campaign, which began last 15 June with barley and oats, will continue until 6 August, dateline for the whole harvest. It will have mobilized 29 harvesters-threshers. As of 29 July, the harvest had reached 88 percent of its goal with 5,476 harvested hectares for a yield of 64,160 quintals.

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ALGERIA

#### VOLUNTEERS PARTICIPATE IN REFORESTATION PROJECT

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 9-10 Aug p 9

[Text] Hundreds of workers from various sectors of activities volunteered to participate in reforestation operations in the Relizane governorate over the past weekends.

Thousands of new saplings were thus added to the forest domain; they will form: a ring of trees around the towns and villages.

Particular attention was given to the basic  $p_{ro}$ tective reforestation operation which involved the protection of the land against erosion and of the dams; it also involved making the population aware of the project through volunteer participation.

The planting was done by farm workers from the socialist and private sectors, who will also be in charge of taking care of the saplings; as for the planting in urban areas, it was done during Environment Days, part of the beautification of towns and villages program. Twenty-eight thousand three hundred and ten saplings (poplars, acacias, locust trees, sohporas, frenecasuarinas, etc) were distributed among 15 communes of the Relizane governorate.

The fruit tree planting operation, considering its importance, met with great success. Thirty-eight thousand nine hundred and twenty saplings were distributed for the purpose of developing orchards and meeting the goals of the governorate in the land improvement program. The Relizane governorate has been the recipient of large-scale development projects located in the Mina, Dahra and Beni Chougrane. Oued Mina being subjected to intense land erosion made it necessary to launch large-scale operations against erosion and for the protection of the northern basin which covers 50,000 hectares, 38,000 of which located in the Relizane governorate. The remainder straddles three western governorates. The study of this basin has already begun. BNEDER [National Rural Development Studies Bureau] is in charge of the Dahra project which is already underway. The purpose of these studies is to delineate the zones of the Dahra mountains which cover three governorates, namely, Relizane, Mostaganem and Chlef, and, as far as Relizane is concerned, are located essentially in the Mazouna district.

Work has begun on the Beni Chougrane mountains project, one of the areas involved, with the creation of the Development Office. The latter's range of action, limited to the governorate, will be defined in the near future. The main development plan for this area particularly stresses the protection of eroded lands and the importance of agriculture. The forest domain of the Relizane governorate covers 44,122 hectares.

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EGYPT

#### RELEASE OF AMERICAN HOSTAGES DISCUSSED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 3 Jul 85 p 7

[Commentary by Salah Muntasir: "America's Festival"]

[Text] The Americans have turned the release of the 39 Americans who were on the hijacked airplane in Beirut to a unique celebration which made me feel, as I followed what was transmitted on British television, that America had just won a great victory in a new world war. Here were their heroes crowned with delusions of war and victory after long years of struggle, returning as their people waited for them with roses and balloons, with joy and smiles, and with flags fluttering in millions of hands!

Perhaps it was the problem of the 444 days which the American Embassy hostages spent in Tehran that made Americans not believe that their new captives in Beirut had been released after only 16 days.

The state of animation in which the hijacked passengers seemed to be when they left captivity for Damascus and the signs of repose which appeared on their faces formed a scene whose significance will, I hope, not be lost among the other scenes. It was obvious from their appearance that they received "marvelous treatment," as it was described by one of them. This could have been what prompted the British television correspondent in Beirut to comment at the time of release: "It is obvious that they were not in the custody of terrorists, but in the hands of honorable people who kept their word."

It is certain that the hostages will speak to journalists at length today and tomorrow and upon their arrival in America, but maybe the ecstasy which awaits them will not intoxicate them to the point that they forget what they said in Damascus before the eyes and ears of the world. For I heard one of them say: "I admit that those Shi'ites have a cause which they are defending in Lebanon and that Israel has committed a big crime against them by taking their children hostage, and thus I do not blame them for hijacking us.

Another American said: "These people"--meaning the hijackers--"have a cause and it is their right to be heard."

A third American said: "I have discovered that we in America are in total ignorance about the Middle East issue and that our bias for Israel has blinded us to many facts regarding this issue. During the days of my captivity I learned many new things I did not know before."

Could it be that it is necessary that all Americans be hijacked in groups so they learn what they should know about the facts of the Middle East issue.

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**EGYPT** 

SOCIAL AFFAIRS MINISTER COMMENTS ON PERSONAL STATUS LAW

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 3 Jul 85 p 1

[Article: "Dr Amal Uthman: Personal Status Law Result of Many Opinions and Aims at Application of Shari'ah"]

[Text] Dr Amal Uthman, minister of insurance and social affairs, declared that the new personal status law can truly be regarded as a law for the entire family. For the first time in the history of personal status laws a law is passed which can be considered the result of all the sincere and enlightened views which sought God's purpose and the welfare of the family and society.

She added that the new law was the first personal status law to be open for discussion in the People's Assembly and to be passed by the parliament, while other laws had been issued as ordinances.

The minister said that the stand taken by the professors of Islamic Shari'ah and members of the Islamic Studies Academy in their discussion of the new law has assured the whole world that Islamic Shari'ah has all that is necessary to preserve the dignity of the person and the family and to bring about the welfare of the entire society. Their views and discussions were responsible for strengthening the regulations and principles which were included in the law and which made it agree with Islamic Shari'ah in all of its articles.

12979 CSO: 4504/415

**EGYPT** 

#### PERSONAL STATUS LAW DISCUSSED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 4 Jul 85 p 20

[Commentary by Ahmad Baha'-al-Din]

[Text] The personal status law has recently passed and every side will find in it a word to like and a word not to like. But such is democracy, that discussion will reveal what is closest to the conscience of society at large and society, which is constantly changing, has the right to reconsider its laws as it evolves.

Some will say "punishment according to God's law" and this is true, But some will say it is a truth that is intended to be false, as those who say that a woman's right to ask for divorce due to abuse is subject to the right that God gave to a man to marry two, three or four. The Qur'an cannot be understood in the manner of "do not draw near to prayer", i.e., according to parts of what is in it, but rather according to all that occurred in it. Those who study all the passages which relate to marriage and family will realize that the Qur'an did not give any side an absolute right, like that of a tyrannical dictator, but it rather established relationships restricted, complemented or explained by other relationships.

The expressions "love", "mercy", "good deeds", "charity", "spouses dwelling therein", "all of it" constitute a language which explains the kind of relationships which do not give an "absolute right" to anyone. Yes, men are superior to women. And the man is, to be sure, the head of the family, according to the structure of the family and kinship. But it is not, as I have mentioned, a tyrannical dictatorship.

Many deputies were surprised to find among themselves, outside the Hall and in the lobbies of the Assembly, women attorneys who are educated in the Shari'ah and the fundamentals of jurisprudence, debating religious scholars on jurisprudence and logic, specifically attorney Muna Dhual-Fiqar and attorney Nadiah Fahmi, who presented a marvelous memorandum on the subject. It is with this diligence that a woman can affirm her qualifications, not with shouting and chattering.

Mental enlightenment and the correct understanding of religious matters have long retreated before a clamor which is more political than religious.

We have indeed warned against this for years. Nevertheless, I was astonished at the degree of ignorance regarding the essence of the Islamic religion, despite the unprecedented existence of those who raise the banner of Islamic Shari'ah without specifically clarifying their understanding so it would be possible to discuss it.

12979 CSO: 4504/415

EGYPT

ASSEMBLY CRITICIZED FOR LAST MINUTE RUSH

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 2 Jul 85 p 16

[Commentary by Ahmad Baha'-al-Din]

[Text] The state, as well as the People's Assembly, have returned to a bad habit with which the people are not pleased, and that is piling up the largest possible number of laws in the last days of the assembly's session with the result of passing these laws without adequate discussion.

I do not mean the personal status law, which is a hot issue, for which there may have been a reason to hurry along irrespective of the opinion on this law which will have been discussed before I write these lines, but I mean, for instance, the new Boeing airplane deal.

An Egyptian indictment has been issued against the Boeing Corporation for giving a bribe to officials of Egypt Air. The FBI in America has judged the company guilty in the same transaction and has mentioned names of Egyptians against whom Egyptian justice has not yet reached a judgment.

A few days ago we read that the U.S. Congress had decided to punish a large corporation—General Dynamics—because it was shown to have paid a bribe, and thus it was fined and the government was forbidden to deal with it for a period of time.

During this remarkable discussion which took place in the People's Assembly, which was required to endorse the government guarantee of the Egypt Air loan, it was said that what was required was a discussion of the loan, not the transaction.

Would the transaction be completed without a loan? It was said that the loan was negotiated not by the government but by the airline, yet does not the conduct of Egypt Air concern the People's Assembly? Isn't the airline Egyptian and financed by Egyptian money, and isn't it required that the government guarantee the company?

What is worse is that the airplanes have arrived and we have received them (about \$200 million worth) before we paid for them, even before we negotiated the necessary loan and before the People's Assembly became aware

of anything. Thus the assembly faces an accomplished fact in a strange and obvious manner. There is an interpellation pertaining to the subject which was submitted in the assembly 3 months ago but which the assembly has not yet seen.

We do not mean by this haste to open a new/old file which is full of questions and question marks regarding the tyrannical influence of a company which has been indicted of giving bribes in Egypt and the preference given exclusively to it for unconvincing reasons.

This passes before the assembly in the blink of an eye! Will anyone in the People's Assembly demand the opening of this wicked file, even if it is in the beginning of the next session!?

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EGYPT

### SOCIALIST PROSECUTOR'S ROLE DISCUSSED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 31 Jul-6 Aug 85 pp 18-20

[Article by Jamal 'Inayat, 'Abd-al-Latif al-Minawi, Siham 'Abd-al-'Al and Wahid 'Abd-al-Majid: "Egyptian Socialist Prosecutor: Agency To Strike at Opposition Under al-Sadat and To Strike at Corruption Under Mubarak; Ahmad Baha'-al-Din: Socialist Prosecutor's Position Is Legally Anomalous; Mumtaz Nassar: Citizen's Only Resort Must Be Judiciary; Husni 'Abd-al-Hamid: Our Only Message Is To Confront Corruption"]

[Text] When the late President Anwar al-Sadat decided to establish the Socialist Public Prosecutor's Agency in Egypt, he did not believe or imagine that this agency would evoke the debate and argument it has evoked regarding the nature of its role and limits. Al-Sadat also did not imagine that the socialist prosecutor's role would change from what he had visualized for it.

At the outset, i.e., under al-Sadat's administration, the agency's opponents relied on the argument that it is a weapon aimed at the opposing politicians with the aim of putting them on trial for what is in their conscience. Since al-Sadat's assassination, the agency's role has changed and it has been lying in wait for all the corruption cases that have surfaced in Egypt.

Currently, Egypt is witnessing a dispute between the socialist prosecutor and Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id, the ex-minister of economy, and an exchange of accusations between the two, both in the values court and in the Egyptian parliament. Even though the minister was relieved from his position last April, the dispute has not been settled. Rather, it has intensified in the wake of the minister's assault on the prosecutor and his accusation that the prosecutor obtained loans and credit facilities from the banks.

This dispute has raised anew the issue of the socialist public prosecutor and of whether it is a judicial agency and the issue of its effectiveness and powers and of parliamentary control over its activities. The more important question is: Is the presence of this agency in conflict with the constitutional legitimacy phase under which Egypt has been living since promulgation of the permanent constitution of 1971 and since termination of the revolutionary legitimacy phase?

The end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century witnessed the so-called parliamentary fact-finding committees. These committees performed their task strongly in that period, thus evoking the sensitivity of the governments which began to obstruct their tasks. Some committees failed to perform the duty entrusted to them and the reports of others were filed away without any action being taken. Even though these committees achieved a degree of success in some countries (Britain), a number of governments with a parliamentary majority intervened with legislative means and issued laws curtailing the powers of these committees (France).

Some Scandinavian countries adopted an alternative system similar to the parliamentary fact-finding system, entrusting the fact-finding activities to a so-called parliamentary commissioner. This commissioner was responsible to the parliament and independent of the executive authority in examining the complaints against and the misdeeds by the administration. However, issues presented to the judiciary were not within this commissioner's jurisdiction.

The question is: Are the Egyptian socialist prosecutor's powers and responsibilities similar to the parliamentary commissioner's powers and responsibilities in other countries?

Relationship Between Parliament and Prosecutor

The relationship between the parliament and the prosecutor has not always been clear since the promulgation of the 1971 constitution despite the clarity of the pertinent article in the said constitution. This is why the bylaws of the People's Assembly issued in 1971 lacked any provision defining this relationship. However, the relationship became somewhat clearer in the Assembly's bylaws of 1979, which devoted a special section to the socialist prosecutor.

Article 328 begins by stating that "in exercising his powers, the public prosecutor shall be subject to the Assembly's control in accordance with the regulations established in the laws governing the exercise of these powers." However, the relationship between the parliament and the prosecutor is still one of the points disputed by the supporters and opponents of the existence of the prosecutor's agency.

Counselor Husni 'Abd-al-Hamid, the assistant socialist prosecutor whom some people have called the "people's attorney," explains the relationship between the prosecutor and the parliament, saying that the prosecutor submits to the parliament a report of his annual activities, the cases he has referred to the values court and the other activities he has carried out. Moreover, the Egyptian parliament approves the nomination of the socialist public prosecutor.

Ahmad Baha'-al-Din, one of those who opposed the existence of the socialist prosecutor under al-Sadat's administration, presented to AL-MAJALLAH his concept of the socialist prosecutor's task as a legal and political task, pointing out the difference between the two.

Baha'-al-Din said: "I cannot deny that when the late President Anwar al-Sadat issued the laws establishing the Socialist Prosecutor Agency and the Values Court I was against these laws because I saw in them two things: first, the establishment of a prosecution agency and, consequently, a trial agency, namely the court, under the direct control of the executive authority. I also saw that al-Sadat established this agency primarily to fight his political opponents. In addition to these political considerations, my objective opinion at the time was that the laws establishing this agency as a prosecution agency and establishing values courts as a branch of the judiciary are unconstitutional laws. The circumstances have changed since then. What has happened is that the Socialist Prosecutor Agency has exerted a big effort to confront some of the well-known corruption cases in the country, thus gaining broad popularity with the public. At the same time, those who have headed the values court in succession have proven their ability to mete out sentences, compatible with the spirit of justice and of the law. But it is my evaluation that the constitutional flaw is still attached to the agency in its entirety, regardless of my personal respect and appreciation for those exercising their powers within this agency. I prefer that the public prosecutor and the Public Prosecutor Office be the state's only prosecution agency, that the criminal law be the only law for accountability and punishment in the country and that the criminal courts be the only courts making decisions in this regard. Nobody can deny that the executive authority provides the Socialist Prosecutor Agency with the dossier of the case it wishes to provide, regardless of the causes, and stops or holds back from him the dossier of a case it does not wish the socialist prosecutor to examine, regardless of the authority's motives in this regard. The second point is that even though the Socialist Prosecutor Agency performs a judicial task, it is, in addition to being under the immediate control of the head of the state, responsible before the legislative authority. This is a legally anomalous position and I do not believe that there are any two people who disagree on this fact. The final observation is that the laws that determine the type of decisions that can be made by the values courts are closer to the logic of bargaining with the defendant. The defendant is kept in custody and if proven guilty, the state collects from him what he owes it and so forth. But no criminal trial is conducted. Supposing a defendant who has embezzled 100 million pounds is tried by the Values Court, this court cannot issue a singleday prison sentence against him."

[Question] The justification given is that after the Values Court completes its task, the case in its entirety is referred to the ordinary prosecution so that it may take its ordinary legal course. Is this what happened in the case of Rashad 'Uthman?

[Baha'-al-Din] I don't know. If this is stated in the provisions, then I ask: Why is it not implemented? If it is not stated, then it becomes a gap in this regard. Moreover, even if this is stated in the provisions, there is the legal principle that a person may not be tried twice for the same crime. We are facing here an abnormal situation. Despite the role the Socialist Prosecutor Agency has performed, and it has been a role of major importance, when we speak of the abstract and ideal legal situation, then the normal situation is to have a single prosecution agency and a single sentencing authority.

Political or Judicial

[Question] Does the agency's political position justify its presence?

[Baha'-al-Din] The fact that it has a political position raises a point of principled objection, namely an objection to the presence of a judicial agency performing judicial tasks and being at the same time a political agency. This means, regardless of the persons in charge of the agency, that the agency's general behavior is influenced by the holder of political power. This simply means that the agency is influenced by the tendencies, personality and opinion of the head of the state and the opinion of the majority party in the parliament. The fundamental objection is to the presence of a judicial agency that performs its task honestly in a certain period of time because the head of state wants to establish justice and wants right to take its course. But we are not talking of a certain head of state or a certain socialist prosecutor. We are talking of the abstract. The position of head of state is a position held by a succession of people and the same applies to the parliament. To have this judicial agency controlled by and accountable to the parliament means having it accountable to the majority party in the parliament. The fundamental objection of this agency is that it is a judicial agency with a political character.

[Question] It is being currently said that those who support the socialist prosecutor support the fight against corruption and those who oppose the agency oppose the fight against corruption. Is this true?

[Baha'-al-Din] If we project the issue from the angle of the public opinion, then this is true because the Socialist Prosecutor Agency has tackled major cases of corruption. Consequently, whoever is interested in fighting corruption supports the Socialist Prosecutor Agency. I support what the agency has done in this regard. There is no doubt that numerous circles engaged in corruption or in violating the laws in one form or another are not pleased with the socialist prosecutor's presence and attack him accordingly. But in what I am saying, I am going beyond the current psychological condition and reaction which we are all experiencing to the matter of principle. The principle is to have a public prosecutor enjoying all the rights and all the facilities available to the socialist prosecutor, to have criminal courts supplied with enough cadres and resources to enable them to make decisions expeditiously and to enable the law to take its course, taking into consideration the laws that restrict and confine the sphere of movement of the socialist prosecutor and of the values courts which only mete out temporary punishment to defendants. In the case of all the defendants referred to the Values Court by the socialist prosecutor, this court may have fined the defendant a sum of money or restricted his freedom for a year or so. But all the defendants are now free, they are exercising all their rights and their millions are definitely increasing, not decreasing. This is not the absolute picture of justice and this is not the real deterrent against corruption.

# [Question] So what form should the deterrence take?

[Baha'-al-Din] In the case of some crimes where a fine of several million was imposed and where the criminals were then released within a year, the criminal court would have meted out a sentence of life at hard labor, for example. This is the punishment stipulated by the penal code. The truly deterrent provisions existing in the penal code are not found in the laws governing the Socialist Prosecutor Agency and the values courts. I believe that President al-Sadat had this in mind when he formulated these laws so that these agencies may be deterrents when he wished them to be and agencies of bargaining and pressure when he wished them to be. But the fact that the conditions have changed is a different matter. I again say that I am not talking of the practices we have witnessed. I am going beyond to the principle. I am talking of this agency's current status as if it will last for 100 years. This is how we should think when dealing with fundamental laws in the legal structure of any country.

## Revolutionary and Constitutional Legitimacy

For a period after the 1952 revolution, Egypt lived under the so-called phase of revolutionary legitimacy. Within the framework of this legitimacy, the revolutionary courts considered the decisions for the nationalization and Egyptianization of the economy. After promulgation of the 1971 permanent constitution, President al-Sadat declared at the time that Egypt had ended the phase of revolutionary legitimacy and actually entered the phase of constitutional legitimacy. This situation raises the issue anew.

Within the framework of the current attack on the socialist prosecutor in Egypt, the attackers cite the argument that the presence of the prosecutor agency in Egypt in this phase is in conflict with the concept implied by Egypt's constitutional legitimacy and brings to mind the revolutionary courts which Egypt witnessed in the wake of the July revolution.

Counselor Husni 'Abd-al-Hamid rejects this analogy and this accusation, saying:
"The constitution has a special article in a special section for the Socialist
Prosecutor Agency. So how can it be said that this legitimacy is revolutionary,
not constitutional? Moreover, the socialist prosecutor's powers are governed
by a law issued by the Egyptian parliament, so how could there be talk of
revolutionary legitimacy? It is an absolutely indisputable constitutional
legitimacy. Therefore, the presence of the Socialist Prosecutor Agency and this
agency's exercise of its activities and tasks are not at all incompatible with
constitutional legitimacy."

[Question] Is there similarity between the Socialist Prosecutor Agency and the revolutionary courts?

['Abd-al-Hamid] There is absolutely no similarity between any positions relying on revolutionary legitimacy and the Socialist Public Prosecutor Agency.

[Question] Is there overlapping between the socialist public prosecutor and the public prosecution?

[Answer] There is no overlapping between the socialist public prosecutor's powers and the powers of any other agency in Egypt because Egyptian law has settled this matter with clear provisions. The socialist prosecutor is most eager to abide by the limits of his jurisdiction and not to exceed them in the jurisdiction of any other authority. At the same time, he does not permit any other authority to exceed its powers and encroach upon his powers. This lie (about overlapping powers) is raised on the occasion of every case so as to spread among the people the impression that the socialist public prosecutor usurps powers that do not belong to him or that his powers encroach upon the powers of others. To put it very briefly, the socialist public prosecutor's jurisdiction is confined to the area of political responsibility and to cases of sequestration. As for the public prosecution, it is responsible for the general prosecution of crimes. When any cases not within his jurisdiction come before the socialist prosecutor, he immediately refers them to the authorities concerned. This is, in my evaluation, an important message performed by this agency. It is the message of helping and guiding the citizens to the authorities concerned with their affairs.

[Question] The system of parliamentary fact-finding committees is a well-known system in a number of countries. Can we consider the Socialist Prosecutor Agency one form of such a committee and what is the relationship between the Socialist Prosecutor Agency and the Egyptian parliament?

[Answer] No, absolutely not because the investigations conducted by the socialist prosecutor are carried out by members of the judiciary authorities who have their independence, impartiality and immunity, meaning that the Socialist Prosecutor Agency's investigations are a purely judicial action that has nothing to do with parliamentary fact-finding committees or bodies. The delegation, not appointment, of members of the judicial authorities to work in the Socialist Prosecutor Agency is premeditated so that only members of the judicial authorities may engage in judicial action. On this basis, no person is permitted to interfere with the activities of these people. Their only supervisor is their conscience, and only their conscience. The only appointed individual in the agency is the socialist prosecutor himself. All his aides are delegated, not appointed. This insures the soundness of the agency's judicial actions.

#### Different Opinion

Counselor Mumtaz Nassar, the leader of the Wafdist opposition in the parliament, has a different opinion. From the outset he rejected altogether the presence of the Socialist Prosecutor Agency and has called for its abolition for years. Justifying his position to AL-MAJALLAH, Counselor Nassar said: "The Socialist Prosecutor Agency is not a judicial agency. As for the presence of the doubt of a contradiction between the agency's presence and constitutional legitimacy, there is no contradiction with this legitimacy because the agency is stipulated in the constitution. But the disagreement is over the fact that this agency has usurped the powers and jurisdiction of the public prosecution and that it is not a judicial authority but a political investigation authority controlled by the executive authority, exactly like the Accounting Bureau which is

considered a financial investigation authority. The constitution must be amended to eliminate this duality. We do not deny that the credit goes to the socialist prosecutor in exposing numerous cases of deviation and corruption. But we prefer to have the ordinary judiciary as the sole resort of the citizen."

Special Type of Crime

Counselor Hilmi 'Abd-al-Akhir, chairman of the Parliamentary Legislative Committee, said:

"The Socialist Public Prosecutor Agency pursues special types of crimes which have their legal circumstances that are totally different from the circumstances of crime pursued by the public prosecutor. It is noticed that when both sides take part in tackling the same case, there are differences and disagreements between the conclusions reached by each side as a result of its investigation. There is a flaw in the legal provisions governing the actions of the socialist prosecutor and the jurisdiction of the values courts. This legislative flaw is demonstrated by the fact that the values court to which the socialist prosecutor presents his cases makes its decisions according to indications, not evidence, in contrast with the other judicial authorities. Therefore, it is not mandatory, in order to convict any person and to sequester his funds and property, that the element of certainty beyond doubt be present. Indications or suspicions are enough. Before the ordinary prosecution, this is not enough for conviction. Coordination must be established between the powers of the socialist prosecutor, the other administrative control agencies and the administrative prosecution and each of the state's authorities must be allowed to exercise its powers in accordance with the law."

Eng Ibrahim Shukri, chairman of the opposition Labor Party, said:

I have proposed to the parliament abolition of all the special laws, including the ethics law and the socialist prosecutor law. We have also demanded abolition of the position of socialist prosecutor. But repeating the demands these days may provoke feelings because this is tied to the campaign led by Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id, the former minister of economy, and supported by all those convicted by the socialist prosecutor to distort the prosecutor's image and to tarnish the Socialist Prosecutor Agency's reputation. We reject this method. The Grouping Party has defined its position in the demand for reviewing the constitution. A committee must be formed to review all articles of the constitution and to present its view to public opinion so that we may bolster the democratic form because there can be no democracy without a constitutional and legal structure. It is not right to stop just at the parliament's relationship with the socialist prosecutor. Rather, the pause should extend to include all of the state's control agencies.

Prosecutor and Minister

We asked Counselor Husni 'Abd-al-Hamid about the Socialist Prosecutor Agency's position vis-a-vis the accusation made against it by Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id and about the prosecutor's relationship with the minister.

Responding, Counselor 'Abd-al-Hamid said: "We have issued in the press a statement which underlines two facts: nobody in any position is allowed to make statements or to act in a manner that may undermine the judiciary's work or may influence them. Consequently, anybody who seeks to defend himself must know that accusing the others will never be a weapon in the hands of this defense. The accusations made by Dr al-Sa'id are tantamount to an attempt to cast doubt on this agency's leadership so that when this agency embarks in the near future on measures which will be taken against this provocateur, the defendant may resort to attacking the validity of the measures by claiming that they have been taken within the framework of a personal dispute. This is an abortive attempt because a defendant cannot choose his judge and cannot fight his prosecutor before the investigation begins. If this were not the case, then anybody against whom legal measures are to be taken can avoid such measures by accusing the authority handling his case. This is rejected."

[Question] Is there a feud between you and Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id, the ex-minister of economy, as he said in the statement he issued in response to the socialist public prosecutor's statement?

[Answer] I have never seen Mustafa al-Sa'id's face until the moment. If I have never seen his face, how could a personal feud exist between us? Moreover, what issue could possibly be the subject of this feud?

#### Cases Before Prosecutor

AL-MAJALLAH asked Ahmad al-Khawajah, the Egyptian Lawyers Union chairman, about his position vis-a-vis the socialist public prosecutor system in his capacity as one of the prominent attorneys who have defended the cases of some people subjected to sequestration by the socialist prosecutor. He said:

First of all, a distinction must be made between the political powers and the economic tasks of the Socialist Prosecutor Agency. We criticize the political powers as a shackle on liberty. It is noticed that the use of these powers has been curtailed in an obvious manner in recent years. As for the economic tasks of this agency, they are a different story. Economically, the socialist prosecutor law is founded on protecting the social gains of the working classes and on fighting exploitation and illicit aggrandization. These are important and needed tasks, especially with the adoption of the open-door economic policy which is accompanied by a climate which opens the door for the lose of economic control. The Socialist Prosecutor Agency has made tangible accomplishments, the most prominent of which are the cases of 'Ismat al-Sadat, Rashad 'Uthman and others. But this does not mean expanding the economic powers given this agency so that it may become a sword hanging over people's heads. This has happened in some cases where the agency has done some investors an injustice. motivated me to agree to defend these cases. I believe that such cases in which the agency commits excesses inflict the gravest harm on the agency, regardless of the services it performs for the country. If the agency cannot correct the flaws that lead it on the path of excess, the people's trust in its economic role will also come to an end.

#### Communist Idea

Lawyer Rashad Baniyah who has acted as the defense counsel in a large number of the cases presented by the Socialist Prosecutor Agency to the Values Court, said that he is opposed to the agency and to the idea of the agency altogether, adding: "The idea of this agency is imported from the Soviet Union and from the communist states that fight the people's efforts to earn a livelihood and that impose on the people certain spheres beyond which they cannot go. This is impermissible in an Islamic country in which its constitution states frankly that the Islamic Shari'a is the main source of legislation. This is why I add my voice to those demanding the abolition of this agency and the transfer of its powers to the ordinary judiciary."

AL-MAJALLAH asked attorney Baniyah about the kind of powers he believes should be transferred to the ordinary judiciary and whether they are the political or the economic powers, and he responded: "I am opposed to the so-called political role of the socialist prosecutor and I can only see in it a role conflicting with democracy and opposed to our aspiration to expand our democratic experience. As for the socialist prosecutor's economic powers, some of them are reasonable, provided that they are taken over by the ordinary judiciary. Nobody is defending corruption, exploitation or illicit aggrandization. Rather, we are the first to fight all this. But tackling these cases should not be based on suspicion, on confiscating property and imposing sequestration but on ordinary investigation."

Should We Abolish Prosecutor?

We asked the assistant socialist prosecutor: Don't you agree with the view-point calling for abolition of the Socialist Prosecutor Agency?

He answered: I am not speaking from my position in the Socialist Prosecutor Agency. But from my position as a citizen, I warn against whoever tries to obstruct the procession of purity whose responsibility has been shouldered by the Socialist Prosecutor Agency since the head of the state raised the slogan of this procession. The head of the state is still stressing on every occasion the continued raising and implementation of this slogan. The Egyptian people's hopes have become attached to this slogan as a bannerline and as a reflection of the implementation of the system of government. The people will not at all agree to swerve from this line and the country's higher leadership will not agree to swerve from it either. Whoever wants to defy the people's will which has met and agreed with the will of their higher leadership should seek a country other than Egypt because Egypt will be nothing but the Egypt of purity.

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**EGYPT** 

#### MEMBERS OF VARIOUS PARTIES DISCUSS JULY REVOLUTION

Cairo AL-SIYASI in Arabic 21 Jul 85 p 6

[Article: "Party Members Discuss: What Is Left of 23 July Revolution?"]

[Text] Egyptian political parties have varied opinions about the 23 July revolution. Likewise, there are differences over attitudes toward the revolution's accomplishments and its positive and negative features. Almost all parties agree, however, on one thing, that the July revolution was necessary to rescue Egypt from the king's corruption and British occupation of their land.

The question which presents itself 23 years after the revolution: What it left of the revolution?

National Party Opinion

AL-SIYASI posed this question to Egyptian party leaders and members.

Mr Kamal Henry Abadir, National Party politburo member, said:

There is no argument that the glorious 23 July revolution realized for Egypt and the Arab world many hopes and ambitions the Arab people used to dream about.

And in spite of what has been said about it, it is considered a pioneering revolution in the full sense of the word. It is enough that it made the Egyptian decision emanate from the feelings of the people themselves. No one can deny the initiative the July revolution inspired in various fields.

The revolution made it clear to the world that the Egyptian people can produce heroes, revolutionaries and defenders of their country's right whenever necessary, as evidenced by the outbreak of the revolution itself.

As for what is left of the revolution, it is noteworthy that the July revolution still occupies a significant place in the hearts of the people. Its roots are still strong and evident in the Egyptian land and will continue to express throughout the ages a revolutionary meaning and deliver up an abundance of Egyptian leaders. Finally, I would like to say we ought to

safeguard its gains and accomplishments and all the things it offered all of us.

Deputy Sa'd-al-Din Wahbah, National Party information secretary at the Cairo secretariat, said:

There is no doubt that the 23 July revolution expressed the hopes of the Egyptian people. It was the outcome of their struggle over a long period during which they endured unparalleled difficulties and suffering.

We know that the Egyptians are a struggling people who do not accept humiliation. They may persevere and endure, but will ultimately rebel in order to regain their rights. This is how the July revolution became a lofty goal throughout the ages.

A look at the gains the revolution achieved for the people of this country shows that they were many and touched various aspects of life. We see, for instance, in the field of education the spread of schools all over the country in towns, small villages and hamlets in a noticeable manner. Then, do not forget the world's attitude toward Egypt, which gained international status and played a role the world cannot ignore.

I would like to say here that 30 years later, the revolution is here to stay and is still giving in all fields the way it gave during its early days. It defies the difficulties and obstacles every revolution encounters.

The July revolution indisputably represented the resolution and the word of the people.

The Wafd Opinion

'Adli al-Mawlid, chairman of the Wafd Party cultural committee, said:

If we were to talk about the 23 July revolution's positive features, we would find that it succeeded in making a place for laborers and farmers. Things were different, however, for other groups such as [white collar] employees.

A laborer today earns an average of 300 Egyptian pounds a month while an employee does not get as much.

Before the revolution we had many cultural activities although society was living with a 90 percent illiteracy rate. But the theatre was booming, purposeful national plays were abundant and the art renaissance in general was more significant.

Concerning positive neutrality, during the revolution reality indicated that we had to observe this principle because the people rejected alignment with either of the two blocs, but nonetheless, the great powers refused to leave us alone and conspiracies multiplied.

The Liberal Party View

Muhammad 'Abd-al-Shafi, Liberal Party representative, said: the 23 July revolution undoubtedly had a number of significant aspects which were reflected in the situation of the entire Egyptian population.

I think the revolution's overriding concern was the Egyptian himself.

Social conditions have changed in favor of the Egyptian person.

Among the revolution's unforgettable gains are the changes in the economic infrastructure. Before the revolution, feudalism was deeply embedded in Egypt and a handful of feudal lords controlled Egypt's economy. All this was eliminated after the revolution and resources were divided among the various classes of the Egyptian people.

Thus, it can be said that the July revolution gave over 80 percent of the population the right of property ownership and disposal, in addition to educational opportunities to the poor, who used to be overburdened with educational expenses. In short, we can say that it was a revolution against injustice and corruption, and it succeeded in liberating Egypt politically, economically and socially.

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**EGYPT** 

# GOVERNMENT SUPERVISION OF ALL MOSQUES POSES PROBLEMS

Cairo AL-SIYASI in Arabic 14 Jul 85 p 8

[Article by Ibrahim Abu Dah: "How Is the Awqaf Ministry Preparing To Bring 1,000 Mosques a Year Under Its Supervision?"]

[Text] The subject has been raised recently about the possibility that the Ministry of Awqaf will run all the mosques in Egypt, about 50,000 of them, including 7,000 belonging to the Ministry of Awqaf and the rest local mosques, 10,000 of which fall under ministry supervision. The ministry is now entrusted with the supervision of all mosques in Egypt.

The Ministry of Awqaf used to add 400 mosques a year, but the ministry issued a decision to raise this number to 1,000 a year although it has not yet been able to provide sufficient imams and ulemas for the 7,000 mosques already under its supervision. The ministry has about 4,000 imams, a figure which is 50 percent short of the required number.

How ready is the Ministry of Awqaf to run 50,000 mosques?

And how can the ministry overcome this shortage of preachers?

How much attention will the ministry be able to give each mosque in Egypt?

New Jobs

Shaykh Yusuf Mahmud Ahmad, director of mosques at the Ministry of Awqaf, said:

The ministry is in the process of announcing vacancies for imams, preachers and instructors. It has introduced financial improvements to the position of imam in view of considerable official interest in the ministry.

As for the supervision of local mosque, which total 43,000, and as for meeting the demand for Friday preachers, the ministry has opened the door to all university graduates with academic degree who desire to deliver the Friday sermon at local mosques in exchange for financial remuneration commensurate with their degrees. Such remuneration may be as high as 20 Egyptian pounds for one Friday sermon, provided that the candidate has the ability to deliver the sermon.

Tests will be administered to non-al-Azhar University graduates to determine their ability to deliver the sermon and to evaluate their religious education and commitment to the call of God and to wisdom and good counsel.

About ministry and paid preachers, Shaykh Yusuf said:

Minister of Awqaf Dr al-Ahmadi Abu-al-Nur added that the training program be a local, decentralized plan whereby each governorate, which has an al-Azhar University campus, will have a preacher training department supervised by Ministry of Awqaf Islamic Call employees with the assistance of al-Azhar professors in the governorates and Islamic Call specialists and their assistants.

This plan currently includes training Ministry of Awqaf preachers and imams. Discussion is underway to draw up a training program for preachers and imams who are paid for their Friday sermons. There will soon be, with the help of professors, a program for last year's al-Azhar students at the Religious Studies, Arabic Language and Islamic Call and Shari'ah Colleges. Students who wish to deliver the Friday sermon and plan to work for the ministry as preachers and imams will be paid for their services.

Concerning ministry supervision of local mosques, Shaykh Mansur 'Ubayd, director of local mosques at the Ministry of Awqaf, said:

First of all, the matter of mosque supervision and the ministry's legal claim to such supervision must be clarified. There is a legal rule governing the construction and establishment of mosques which stipulates that mosques can only be built by order of the ruler who has the right to delegate anyone he pleases to carry out this task. The ruler has delegated the Ministry of Awqaf and, therefore, it is responsible for the supervision of all mosques in Egypt.

Ministry of Awqaf supervision of these mosques has two aspects:

First, supervision of mosque integrity and religious practices such that the mosques are facing in the proper direction, rest rooms are isolated from the prayer area, rugs and lighting are furnished and other administrative matters are taken care of.

Second, supervision of what is said in the mosques to guarantee honesty and truth in order to safeguard the truth and integrity of the faith and to protect the country's safety.

The Ministry of Awqaf has the full capability to supervise mosques in Egypt, both from the technical and administrative point of view.

As for the supervision the ministry exercises with regard to mosques not in its bailiwick, it is done by sending a preacher to deliver the Friday sermon for pay, or he may be a ministry employee, in which case he is paid a travel allowance.

The ministry has upgraded the position of preachers and provided them with suitable housing and necessary books to perform the Islamic Call mission. In addition, it has built and prepared suitable housing for imams, especially after raising allowances by 25 percent. The ministry is doing everything it can to take care of preachers and imams.

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EGYPT

## PSYCHIATRISTS DISCUSS RELIGIOUS EXTREMISM

Cairo MAYU in Arabic 22 Jul 85 p 3

[Report of interviews with Dr 'Umar Shahin, Dr 'Adil Sadiq, and Dr 'Imad-al-Din Fadli, professors of psychiatry, by Husayn Ghayta: "A Thin Line Between Religiousness and Extremism"; time and place of interviews not given]

[Text] Being religious means drawing close to God; it means love of people, sympathy, mercy. Extremism means something else: excess, fanaticism, hatred.

If the extremist believes that he can draw closer to God by such excess, the belief is wrong and misleading.

Why do some young people tend toward extremism? Are such people religious? What is the boundary between religiousness and extremism?

These are the questions that MAYU directed at three senior professors of psychiatry in Egyptian universities. Through their answers we can find a treatment for one of the most important problems of young people in this age.

Dr 'Imad-al-Din Fadli, professor of psychiatry at 'Ayn Shams University:

There are many studies from different places that have been done on extremists in an attempt to become acquainted with the extremist personality. These have defined extremists as of two sorts: the leftist, and the rightist or religious extremist. The opinion on which psychologists agree is that extremism is an unhealthy phenomenon, one that reveals a disordered personality. The extremist is not necessarily sick, but there is no doubt that he has an abnormal personality.

Among the traits of the rightist extremist are introversion and susceptibility to attacks of mental illness. Among the traits of the leftist extremist are extroversion and also susceptibility to attacks of mental illness. These are traits that make a person incapable of adapting and accepting the opinion of the group. They cause a person to lose flexibility, render him unable to come to terms with others or follow a sound logical train

of thought, and make him take refuge in violence to realize his opinions and beliefs.

As a matter of personal impression (not yet subjected to scientific research), it has been found that some extremists fall victim to mental illness, especially feelings of persecution and of hostility toward others, together with aggressiveness in behavior, since many of them carry dispositions toward illness.

Dr 'Adil Sadiq, professor of psychiatry: Psychology does not look at extremism as a pathological phenomenon in the sense of a disposition or special traits in the extremist's personality that lean toward strange things, inscrutable decisions, immersion in exaggerated philosophy, psychology, or religious resolutions.

In my personal opinion, there are two kinds of extremist, and each kind includes two subdivisions. The first kind is the sort who lead astray—those who exercise leadership in misguiding young people. They can be divided into two subgroups: those who have pathological dispositions toward extremism, and those who hide behind the slogans in order to realize personal advantages. The second large kind is the sort who are led astray: young people who succumb to the influence of the first group and who follow them obediently. They, too, can be divided into two subgroups: those who carry pathological tendencies (these are easy to lead since they have a craving to plunge into extremism), and those who unwittingly succumb to the influence of glittering slogans and are carried away without thought or reflection. Responsibility for this group lies with the state, which has been neglecting the care of young people and provision for their psychological, spiritual, human, and social needs.

## Severity and Resoluteness

Dr 'Adil Sadiq: In dealing with this phenomenon, I think one should follow a procedure of severity, strictness, and resoluteness with leaders who misguide others; young people, however, ought to be taken by the hand, since they need direction, care, and attention from all the authorities in the state and at all levels. They need someone to make the true facts known to them with clarity, sincerity, simplicity, and objectivity.

# Infidelity and Faith Are in the Heart

Dr "Umar Shahin, professor of psychiatry at Cairo University: Religion is a way of ordering the relationship between Creator and creature. In the nature of things, it is the Creator who establishes the way; the duty of the creature is to follow the way. Such is God's plan in all revealed religions. All begin with a single man—a messenger or prophet—and spread by means of preaching to as many people as God wills.

The prophet [Muhammad] used to summon men [to Islam]. If they responded, he rejoiced; if they did not respond, [God] was invoked against them. A summons

delivered by prophets is God's judgment. In this way, the ancient nations of 'Ad, Thamud, and others came to an end.

The Islamic summons was characterized by unlimited forbearance and regard for the future, for Islam is the future. It is therefore strange that some Muslims imagine that the summons to Islam ends with preaching and its subsequent acceptance or rejections, so that anyone who does not accept their summons has become an infidel toward God. "There is no compulsion in religion." Faith and infidelity are matters that lie in the heart.

## The Prophet Rejected Violence

Dr 'Umar Shahin: If our prophet rejected violence between Muslims and non-Muslims, how can some Muslims believe that Islam is violence? They would seem to be holding to the western notion that Islam spread by violence and the sword. The truth is that the eternal message [of Islam] spread by faith and insight. Force was used only in defense of the faith, not in calling people to it. We can therefore see extremism as a departure from the method of the messenger who called men [to Islam]. We think that the extremist suffers from a feeling of not realizing his hope to be a force, to be a true Muslim, and to achieve glory and raise the banner of Islam.

Out of this feeling of guilt, he begins to overdo things, until he reaches extremism.

Strangely, many extremists are among those who least practice their religious duties. (This judgment applies to extremists of every religion.) I therefore call on all Muslims to work. "Say: 'Work, and God will surely see your work, and His Messenger, and the believers.'" [Koran 9:105]. I call on Muslims to work and to have great hope in God. The results are always as God wills. One should not feel disappointment concerning one's efforts or a disordered conscience that drives a person to uncommendable, undesirable, and valueless extremism.

This is an invitation to all Egyptians, Muslim and Christian: for the Muslim to understand Islam; and for the Christian to understand Christianity, which says that "God is love." Let each individual practice the rites of his religion and abide by it in his life and conduct toward others. Let each individual be assured that his work is credited to him [by God], and that what is demanded of him is to labor for the good of the country and future generations. Let him be confident that the results of his work depend on the will of God. Let him not be hasty or impatient.

### Extremism Is Blind Fanaticism

Dr 'Imad-al-Din Fadli, professor of psychiatry at 'Ayn Shams medical faculty: Extremism is blind fanaticism for any opinion, political or religious, a rigidity that allows absolutely no discussion or review of this opinion by any person, and the rejection of any opinion that is contrary or at variance. In addition, the opinion in itself is not objective. The healthy situation is that there be discussion and persuasion; that expression

of opinion be free, not the monopoly of anyone; and that there be give and take based on dialogue and opposition. This has been clear within Islam from the beginning: "To you your religion, and to me my religion." [Koran 109:5]. Whoever accepts Islam is convinced of it.

Dr 'Imad-al-Din Fadli adds: The characteristics of the extremist personality sometimes go back to pathological personality causes, and sometimes to causes outside the personality. In the case of their going back to a pathological personality: in certain illnesses, such as schizophrenia or depression, the person believes in a particular idea having no basis in reality or logic and not subject to discussion, even though he has no proof—and this is a pathological flaw in reasoning.

Then there is the youthful immature personality still in the period of adolescence when certain ideas hold young people in their grip and satisfy certain of their feelings. The adolescent therefore holds firmly to them. However, when he passed beyond this stage, he will be able to see that others have the right to express an opinion. He, too, may alter his opinion on certain ideas. He may go wrong as a result of lack of direction, but such cases are doubtless a minority.

## The Influence of Foreign Forces

Dr 'Imad-al-Din Fadli: However, fanaticism is generally a social disease. There are interests that hide behind ideas. There are those who pursue political activity or political and economic goals, but behind them lies hidden a particular philosophy. There are those who use religious beliefs as a veil for their ends. In such cases, the religiosity is merely an external manifestation; it is not something that calls for tolerance. With such persons discussion is difficult. They advocate instilling hatred in the hearts of others. If we were to engage many of them in discussion, we would come out with no result. These ideas are dangerous. They represent a danger because such ideas can be exploited by foreign forces.

#### Here Is the Treatment

Dr 'Imad-al-Din Fadli: The former case, the pathological, can be treated by psychiatry. The result of treatment can be swift due to the patient's response to treatment. However, in the case of the other causes of extremism and intellectual or religious fanaticism, we have to discuss the underlying problem. As for the question of group affiliation, there may be internal reasons. The motives may be reasonable among young people: particularly, the striving to realize oneself through work and through participating in the accomplishment of a successful action. In that case, we shall find that they go beyond the circle of fanaticism. As a general rule, fanaticism and extremism increase whenever there is frustration because of emptiness, fear, and lack of role models. As a result, leaders become weak in giving guidance. Guidance should embody itself in all the information media by the avoidance of exaggeration, by presenting the true size [of certain matters] and not enlarging them, by objective criticism, and by striving to deal rationally with problems. I think there are intellectual leaders—Dr Zaki Najib Mahmud,

for example—who are esteemed by young people for dealing [with problems] objectively and rationally and in a style that agrees with the spirit of the age and finds acceptance with young people.

Fanaticism or extremism cannot discuss a subject rationally. Emotion and excitement so dominate the discussion that it turns into a personal attack, even if it was a discussion about a group. We must clearly distinguish between extremism and religiousness.

Religiousness is a young person who believes in God, the prophet, and the heavenly revelations. He is a cultured young person. He accepts an idea and carries on a discussion objectively, even about doctrine, with the aim of deriving benefit from the knowledge of God. "To you your religion, and to me my religion." He rejects the way of domination or of fanaticism. He follows the method of preaching or setting a good example, rather than that of fanaticism or violence.

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**EGYPT** 

#### ILLITERATE NDP DEPUTY SUBJECT OF CONTROVERSY

Cairo AL-SIYASI in Arabic 18 Jul 85 p 5

[Article: "Case of Illiterate National Party Deputy: Between Judicial Justice and Domination of al-Mahjub"]

[Text] The case of Sa'id al-Qadah, the illiterate NDP deputy, is yet another blow, to be added to the stock of the concluded parliamentary session, that the People's Assembly has dealt to young democracy in Egypt.

Persistently and defiantly, some people who have an ax to grind are trying to blot out this case and cover within a cloud of obscurity and confusion.

But these people will not get what they want. The case files will remain open until the final word is spoken. Either the government and the judiciary will be respected or matters will be brought out into the open to determine the responsibility of anyone who may think he is above the law and to let the people know the unadorned truth.

Sa'id al-Qadah is the name by which Muhammad Ahmad al-Qadah, current NDP deputy for al-Gharbiyah Governorate, is known. His case was brought to light when the National Party slate was announced during the recent People's Assembly elections in al-Gharbiyah's Second Precinct. Because al-Qadah cannot read or write, his opponents contested his candicacy before the al-Gharbiyah disputes committee. When the committee rejected the complains the petitioner resorted to the Administrative Justice Court, naming the interior minister, the al-Gharbiyah security chief, the candidate Sa'id al-Qadah and the NDP secretary as litigants in Case No 4087/38. On 26 May 1984, the Administrative Justice Court ruled to accept the case in form and to exclude al-Qadah from the National Party slate for not meeting the legal eligibility requirements for candidacy.

Astounding Written Test Results

The opinion in the case was clear, well-defined and incontestable. It said, in the wake of the writing test the court's panel of jurors administered to al-Qadah, that the test contained 29 spelling errors out of a total of 54 words and that had the bulk of the test not contained Koranic verses, the court would not have been able to read a single word of the respondent's writing.

The opinion went on to say: "Thus, it is clear from the court records that the respondent cannot read or write and therefore does not meet eligibility requirements stipulated in Paragraph 4, Article IV, of Law No 38 of 1972. If the protestation settlement committee adopted a different opinion, its decision, according to the records, was in violation of the facts and the law," thus giving weight to the demand to stay the execution of the contested decision.

### Dubious Success

This judgement was pronounced before the elections, but al-Qadah's powers and his backers prevented its enforcement in disdain for the court's decision, despite the existence of a stipulation to carry out the judgement in its original draft without a declaration.

Thus the judicial power received the first blow against its prestige. The elections were held without al-Qada's exclusion from the National Party slate and the people of al-Gharbiyah were destined to be represented in their parliament by an "illiterate" member. Al-Qadah, however, was not satisfied with such a dubious success and his backers would not be stopped. They advised him to contest the judgment before the Supreme Administrative Court on the grounds that the "first" contestant had no interest in the disputes, this despite the fact that the petitioner was an opponent of the National Party slate!

# Honorable Brief by Panel of Jurors

Al-Qadah did not get what he wanted. The panel of jurors replied to the opinion in the first dispute with a brief they submitted in December 1984 containing a refutation of al-Qadah's claim that the petitioner did not have interest in the dispute. The brief mentioned that the claimant had no legal grounds to stand on since Law No 38 of 1972 presupposed the existence of such an interest with regard to any candidate when it stipulated in Article IX that every candidate had the right to protest the inclusion of any candidate or to prove improprieties regarding him or any other candidate.

Indeed, the law did not limit this right to the candidate, but granted it as well to the candidate's party. The minister of the interior's Decree No 293 for 1984, to open the doors of candidacy for People's Assembly membership, reiterated in Paragraphs 2 and 3 of Article VIII the same provisions stipulated by the aforementioned law. This interest does not end, of course, with the candidate's or the party's protest to the opposing candidate before the protestation committee, but remains valid in the event that the protestor or the party wished to bring its protest against the protestation committee's decision before the competent judicial authorities. The brief added: "In addition to the above, the interest of any candidate in protesting against any of his opponents definitely exists before and after the electoral process because the presence of a specific candidate on an opposing slate may give such a slate popular strength so that if the protestor succeeded in excluding the opponent from the slate before the actual voting, this popularity would be impaired and the contestant's party slate would win. This interest remains valid if the protestor, failing to remove his opponent by order of the

protestation committee, resorted to the competent court because the order to stay the execution or to overrule the protestation committee's decision to accept the opponent as a People's Assembly candidate means that the slate of the excluded member was illegal at the time of the elections since it did not have, after the exclusion, the legal number of primary candidates in accordance with Article V(a) of Law 38 for 1972, as amended by Law 114 of 1983, which stipulates that 'every slate shall include the number of candidates allotted to each district plus an equal number of alternate candidates in accordance with the attached list,' and also in accordance with Article X of the interior minister's Decree 293 of 1984 to open the doors of candidacy for the People's Assembly membership.

"If the defficiency in the number of primary candidates on the opposing slate renders the slate in violation of the law, which in turn may result in the possibility of the protesting candidate and his slate benefitting from such a situation, the interest of the protestor remains valid until his case is settled."

Once again the fair-minded courts have had their say. The Supreme Administrative Court's decision last 1 April supported the administrative justice's ruling and forced the People's Assembly president by this judgment and in accordance with the law, to make a decision the president of the People's Assembly should have cited the minister of the interior's decree, declaring nine candidates on the National Party slate in al-Gharbiyah's Second Precinct invalid because the slate itself was legally invalid and therefore all the votes it received were invalid as well, and he should have declared the slate that received the largest number of valid votes, the Wafd Party slate, the winner. But as usual, al-Mahjub is excercising his autocracy and is ignoring all the court's actions while persisting in his arbitrary violation of the inviolability and sovereignty of the law and the constitution and adding to the People's Assembly podium more fog in a parliamentary session on which we had pinned our hopes as a starting point for a new democratic era dominated by a single voice, the voice of the law.

Before the start of the new parliamentary session, we are still asking: When will al-Mahjub resolve this case?

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### NDP LEGAL EXPERT INTERVIEWED

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[Interview with Dr Ahmad Salamah, chairman of Law Department at 'Ayn Shams University and member of the General Secretariat and Education Committee of the NDP, by Sana' al-Sa'id: "Interview of the Week"; time and place not given]

[Text] The opposition has said much about the incident of the closing meeting in the first parliamentary session of the People's Assembly, during which the immunity of one of the Wafd party members was lifted. The incident stirred up debate and uproar within the ranks of the opposition. According to the opposition, the manner in which the immunity was lifted was not normal. The opposition has charged that the operation was orchestrated by the NDP. From the point of view of the opposition, the session has in fact spawned a dangerous parliamentary crisis, inasmuch as what was done in it did not respect parliamentary principles and traditions. It was thus a threat to democracy and aimed a powerful blow at [parliamentary] regulations and the constitution—or so says the opposition in the style it knows so well!

Dr Ahmad Salamah, professor and chairman of the Law Department at 'Ayn Shams University and member of the General Secretariat and Education Committee of the NDP, here speaks about parliamentary immunity, arguing that what is happening today is a true consequence of the democracy which the NDP respects. He will also talk about the NDP, [political] affiliations, and the case for politicizing the youth.

[Question] What occurred at the close of the first parliamentary session of the People's Assembly early this month represented, from the point of view of the opposition in Egypt, an assault on regulations and the constitution. They say that a decision to life parliamentary immunity should never have been taken in such a hasty way, a way that made the situation appear to be a violation of democracy.

[Answer] Before we speak about parliamentary immunity and recent events, it would be appropriate to begin with the constitutional provisions on the subject according to the detailed statements found in the bylaws of the People's Assembly. Article 359 of the constitution states that while the assembly is sitting, it shall not be permissible, except in a case where the offender is caught in flagrante dilicto to institute any criminal proceedings against a member, except by permission of the assembly. The second paragraph states that when the assembly is not in session, such proceedings may be taken only by permission of the speaker of the assembly, and provided that the speaker make a report as soon as the assembly convenes of the proceedings instituted in the case.

[Question] But what is your assessment of the situation and of its accompanying circumstances generally, bearing in mind that we are not talking here about a special case, but are discussing the principle itself and the situation from an objective point of view.

[Answer] The article I just mentioned distinguishes between two things: the institution of a proceeding involving any member while the assembly is in session, and such proceedings while it is not in session. In the first case, the assembly itself grants permission; in the second, the speaker attends to the matter, provided that he inform the assembly of any proceedings as soon as it convenes.

[Question] Does this mean that the speaker of the assembly has full power, acting by himself, to lift parliamentary immunity?

[Answer] Yes, that is the meaning of the constitutional text about acting with the permission of the speaker of the assembly. Furthermore, the decision may be carried out immediately.

[Question] Even though it is a decision by him alone?

[Answer] The constitution empowers him to do so, as long as the assembly is not in session, since if the lifting of immunity were postponed until the convening of the assembly it might impede the legal proceedings. As long as the assembly is in session, it acts in the matter; when it is not in session, the speaker sees to the matter, providing that he submit his action to the assembly as soon as it reconvenes. At that time, the assembly may choose not to approve the lifting of immunity carried out by its speaker.

[Question] But the lifting of immunity will in fact have taken effect and the matter will be finished?

[Answer] Nevertheless, if the assembly does not approve the lifting of immunity, all proceedings instituted on the basis of the speaker's permission become invalid.

[Question] But if the decision to lift immunity is made by an individual and without our hearing the opinion of the member whose immunity is lifted, how can we feel safe that the speaker's decision to lift immunity from the member was not some sort of intrigue against him or punishment for him?

[Answer] First, one must assume that the decisions of the speaker of the assembly when the assembly is in recess emanate from a person of high political and constitutional rank. It is therefore not possible for us to begin with an erroneous assumption that focuses on casting doubt on the speaker's intentions or with the idea that his decisions are guided by intrigue or motivated by rancor.

[Question] But doesn't the lifting of immunity during a parliamentary recess give the impression of a desire to avoid discussing a certain subject? In other words, doesn't it give the impression of a desire on the part of the legislative authority to brush aside a point of view or to suppress an opposition opinion?

[Answer] This leads us to an account of the lifting of parliamentary immunity from a historical point of view. It used to be government practice during parliamentary discussion of any subject that if it learned in advance that some member was about to bring up some explosive issue or take a stand on that issue, it would procede to arrest the member so that he could not attend the session. As soon as the session had been held and the matter was finished, the man would be released. Historically, then, the question of the lifting of immunity arises only when parliament is in session. If parliament is not in session, the suspicion that the measure was taken in order to prevent a member from attending the session can be rejected out of hand. For this reason, the constitution grants the speaker authority to make such a decision when the assembly is not in session.

[Question] That is from a historical point of view. But what about the objective side of the question?

[Answer] It is a grave error for anyone to imagine that immunity for members of the People's Assembly and the Consultative Assembly means that they are immune from questioning and isolated from it. Like other citizens, members of parliament have no infallibilty in the eyes of the law. Why, then, does the assembly have to agree [to lift a member's immunity]? In order to investigate one question only: Is the request for the lifting of immunity motivated by some intrigue against the member or not? Here I would quote from the bylaws of the People's Assembly that the legislative committee in the Assembly shall first examine the request and issue its opinion so that it may be reported to the assembly for its action. According to Article 323 of the currently operative bylaw of the People's Assembly, neither the legislative committee nor the assembly itself looks into the availability or nonavailability of proof to convict on a criminal or disciplinary charge; nor do they look into the need for taking measures other than disciplinary ones.

The bylaws here places a criminal and a disciplinary trial on the same footing in that both require permission to lift immunity.

[Question] How can we be sure that the entire procedure will not be wrapped in allegations and intrigue against the member whose immunity is sought to be lifted? The matter is not trivial; it concerns a citizen's honor and reputation.

[Answer] The assembly's discussion is limited to the extent to which intrigue has been involved in the allegation, and consequently to an investigation of whether the intention behind the lifting of the member's immunity was to prevent him from carrying out his parliamentary responsibilities in the assembly. The meaning of "immunity" in this context is that no intrigues should be carried out against a member of parliament. "Intrigue" has two meanings: In the narrow sense, it means preventing the member from attending to his duties at parliamentary meetings; the other meaning is not so limited and extends to the unjustified impunging of his reputation.

[Question] The action of lifting a member's immunity leads, whether we want it or not, to the raising of suspicions about the member. I would ask what the assembly's role is in protecting its members as much as possible so that their immunity is not randomly or unjustly lifted.

[Answer] First of all, immunity is not lifted randomly or unjustly. The legislative committee examines the allegation to see whether it has a basis or is devoid of validity and intended only as defamation and wrangling. Secondly, I would ask which of the two courses is in the interest of the assembly: that it refuse to lift immunity, which would occasion comment since it would be said to be covering up for its members, preventing the judicial authorities from questioning them, and aiding them in their wrongdoings? Or, that it lift immunity so that the innocence of its members may be established after investigation? Which of the two is in the interest of society after investigation? Which of the two is in the interest of society and of the assembly itself?

[Question] The controversy about the lifting of immunity arose recently because not long ago the members of the majority party closed ranks to obtain justice for a member who was dealing in drugs. Isn't it strange that the assembly closes ranks to prevent the lifting of immunity from a member suspected of immorality and then joins together in this case to lift an opposition member's immunity?

[Answer] In the case you are bringing up—it happened a few years ago—the failure to lift the immunity of the member in question did not continue. On the contrary, I hold that it is in the interest of the state as a whole and of the members of the People's and Consultative Assemblies that permission be granted for the lifting of immunity when necessary so that members may defend themselves.

[Question] Does this mean that the lifting of immunity must not cause a confrontation between the ruling party and opposition parties? Specifically, the opposition members see the recent action of lifting immunity as evidence that the NDP is fomenting intrigues against them and trying to entrap them for offenses.

[Answer] We have to allow an objective view to hold sway here and ask whether the basis of the action was good intention or whether it was malicious. We assume good intentions in any matter until the opposite is proved.

Unfortunately, the others assume malice. As I said, which is better: that the member be investigated and his innocence clearly established so that rumors cease, or that the confusion continue? Which is more advantageous to the opposition and to the country? This is something on which we must agree. Certainly, the NDP is very eager for democracy.

[Question] Isn't what aided the confusion the fact that in the first vote on the issue the majority—the ruling party—joined with the opposition to vote for not lifting immunity?

[Answer] The first vote was to determine whether intrigue had been involved or not—nothing more and nothing less. In fact, the assembly's decision was to postpone, not to refuse [the lifting of immunity]. There is a great difference between the two. If I, as a parliament or as a committee, am studying a situation, it is my right and duty to determine whether the request for the lifting of immunity is based upon intrigue or has a firm foundation in fact. Indeed, the NDP was for postponement of the decision on lifting immunity precisely because it wished to treat the opposition member exactly as it would treat a member of the NDP, giving due consideration to the question of whether the request involved intrigue or not.

[Question] The immunity lifting incident has been exploited by some in order to cast doubt upon the democratic climate and to criticize the NDP's methods. I would ask whether the decisions of the NDP might sometimes be caused by irritation.

[Answer] Certainly not! The NDP is responsible for implanting democracy and is eager to see it firmly anchored. What happened was completely natural. The decision was made only after deliberation and assurance. The fact that the question was postponed initially for investigation is proof of this.

[Question] Does this mean that there is no truth to what some have hinted at, that the NDP lost its way when its members joined ranks to lift immunity, and that its decisions are formed and taken by directive emanating from above?

[Answer] As one proof will show, there is surely no truth to the notion. In spite of what is called party loyalty, had there been some political machination by the party as is alleged, the members of the NDP would not have agreed in the first instance to postpone the request for lifting immunity. Had the action been prearranged, it would have been carried out from the beginning. I think that what actually happened completely disproves the charge of a prearranged plan which some people are trying to bring against the members of the NDP.

[Question] When the NDP comes up in conversation, its members are seen as a pampered elite--interest servers who practice politics as amateurs, not as a profession.

[Answer] Let me correct something. I am for the practice of politics on an amateur basis, not as a profession. Is politics, I ask, a profession, or is

it an idea that enters the atoms of the body and is reflected in the person's actions? I cannot call politics a profession. Rather, it is an inseparable part of citizenship. Its meaning is that a person is a good citizen who feels the demands of his country and participates by giving his opinion. That is politics.

[Question] When I bring in the word "professionalism," it is used here to indicate a range of knowledge, experience, and ground-floor political practice. Isn't it on this basis that they are called amateurs: that they lack experience, and that they have come in a haphazard way to hold positions in the party?

[Answer] That is talk devoid of truth. The members of the NDP have not suddenly come from Mars so that we might say that they lack political professionalism. What I mean by political professionalism here is a feeling for the country, of affiliation with it, and of participating by giving opinion. However, I still hold to my view that politics is not an occupation, and that it is wrong therefore to call it a profession.

[Question] Is there truth in the saying that the greatest thing holding the members of the NDP together is self-interest: that it alone has come to be the highest common denominator among them?

[Answer] I have heard what some are repeating and have read what others have written: that the NDP is a party of interest servers, and that its members are pampered. What, I ask, is the evidence for such a conclusion?

Let me say to you that NDP members complain a great deal about the pampering of members of the other parties, and that it is others, not they, whose interests are being carried out. If the criterion for NDP membership were allowing oneself to become a pampered interest server, the president of the party would never have said from the first moment he assumed the presidency that no Egyptian enjoys any advantage over another, except through producing and labor; that there is no room for exceptions and personal considerations, whatever their motive. However, if we look at the organizations of the NDP, we find an unprecedented competition. That in itself shows that the charge of interest serving has not basis.

[Question] Isn't there the suspicion of an accusation?

[Answer] Things do not rest on suspicions. Naturally, when there are many parties, some parties may try to spread suspicions about the NDP, even if such activities are utterly reprehensible from an ethical point of view. Cases are not based on suspicions, but on facts. Perhaps you know that many party leaders who hold high positions have had measures taken against them, measures that probably would not have been taken against any member in the opposition party. NDP members are people devoted to working for the national interest; they have no other purpose. They are people who believe in a particular cause—no more and no less.

[Question] Another issue has been raised to the effect that the wave of extremist, exaggerated, rebellious, and violent affiliations now being seen in Egypt is only a reaction to the NDP's monopoly on all the local councils, in such a way as has made it difficult to enlist all varieties of affiliation. It is said that these intellectual distortions have appeared for this reason, and that they would not exist if other parties shared in these councils.

[Answer] Who, in principle, is responsible for this? Is it the NDP or the opposition? Isn't it they who turned away from participating in the nomination for local assembly elections when they abstained or boycotted them? How can I elect a person who did not come forward for nomination: They are responsible because they shrank back and refused to enter the partisan battle for whatever reasons. In any case, we are a democratic state. The people are those who choose their representatives at all levels. I even think that any party's refusal to enter the fight is a blow to the cause of democracy.

[Question] Didn't they have the impression that the fight was rigged and that they had no hope in it?

[Answer] How can that be so, when we have clear proof before us in the latest elections for the People's Assembly? Weren't they carried out on a system of proportional lists in response to a request by the opposition? Unfortunately, after the government took up the system of lists, the opposition went back to criticizing and once again brought up objections. It may not have been the demand of the NDP, but it was a response to what the opposition wanted. Nevertheless, the opposition came in and participated in the electoral process, and its members won seats. Why did they judge in advance that the elections would be rigged? Who, I ask, was going to do the rigging? It was a figment that they dreamed up and under which they took cover to justify their failure. Perhaps they were alarmed and afraid that their base of support would not enable them to win seats in the election. So they preferred to withdraw and be safe, alleging that the elections were rigged. When they did take part in the fight, it was proved to them that the elections were not rigged.

[Question] In spite of that, hasn't the NDP been unable to contain all ideas, opinions, and affiliations within one vessel? Haven't they become divided, scattered, dispersed?

[Answer] There is definitely a big difference between an all-inclusive party and many parties. We are a multi-party country. Therefore, one cannot demand that any party gather together all tendencies into one vessel. Otherwise, we would return to a one-party system or to an all-inclusive party. Everyone has his beliefs. Whoever thinks that this party is closer to him than others joins it. This is basically not a problem that comes up under a multi-party system. This is on the one hand. On the other hand, there are some groups that intentionally do not expect to be included under any system of parties. In any party system, whatever its form, they find a kind of discipline and order that they refuse due to their rebellious nature. In consequence, they resist any attempt to include them within a legal framework. This being the case, we cannot talk about attaching them to the NDP or any other party, can we?

[Question] But what is the role of the NDP, as a governing party, toward these ideological affiliations, ones that may have come from abroad, and which may be strange and disapproved of?

[Answer] There are two groups. One group is open to persuasion and respects the national interest. The other group cannot be persuaded, no matter what arguments one brings. They constitute a group that for a variety of reasons is resolved on persisting in error and rebelliousness.

[Question] Aren't there those who say that the bankruptcy of political party life in Egypt is what has helped the spread of these unjustified extreme ideological affiliations?

[Answer] Bankruptcy of party life? I don't understand just what you mean by "bankruptcy of party life."

[Question] That we have gained nothing by it; that it has yielded no solutions for difficult and increasingly critical problems; that the political arena is full of nothing but verbal wrangling and disputes between the parties, but when it comes to practice, the field is empty of anything of value.

[Answer] I think this is theoretical talk not based on reality. If those who speak in this way had really understood what is in fact going on in Egypt, they would forgive the fact that some solutions occasionally come late. They would find that many of the problems have been solved, and that we are on the way to solving the rest.

It would be a sad thing for me to sit in a seat in a closed room, pressing the charge that the problems have not been solved, without having information about the possibility of their solution or about the extent of those that have been solved. That would be illogical and unacceptable. Logic demands that one understand all the factors and that one then make an effort to draw a conclusion objectively from the evidence. Those who make premature judgments based on a fixed notion are the ones I referred to as closed to persuasion.

[Question] Does the solution lie in an attempt to win over these elements by drawing them into politics? Or is the call for drawing them into politics misguided and fruitless? Specifically, there are those who argue that the call for drawing youth into politics is a sterile one. They hold that what is visible in it is mostly hypocrisy toward youth—an attempt to impose on them and to seduce them.

[Answer] I fully believe that we must first create a sense of citizenship in young people, so that they have an affilitation to their country and to its principles. Then, when this stage has been accomplished, they will be able to share—if they wish—in political burdens and responsibilities. In the initial stage, their minds should be built up on all—encompassing general patriotic foundations, with no partisan issues dividing or separating them. When that has happened, they can later join the party that they wish.

12937

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EGYPT

PUBLIC SERVICES MINISTER DISCUSSES BROAD DEVELOPMENT PLANS

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 1 Aug 85 p 15

[Report of interview with Engineer Ibrahim Mustafa Kamil, public services minister: "'Egypt of the Future,' a New National Plan for Egypt, Is the Property of the People of Egypt; I Have Not Withdrawn It and Shall Not Do So"; date and place not given]

[Text] In a frank conversation, Engineer Ibrahim Mustafa Kamil speaks about his proposal, "Egypt of the Future":

The project, "Egypt of the Future," is based on a number of self-evident truths that form a basis for the coming 25 years. By means of it, we shall safeguard our old age and open the doors to future self-sufficiency in honor and prosperity for our children and for future generations of posterity, God willing. These self-evident truths can be summarized as follows:

1. It is self-evident that there can be no self-sufficiency or honor under the shadow of severe and increasing poverty, with an increase of the population of the Nile Valley and Delta (3.4 percent of the area of Egypt) from a present 48 million to over 140 million after only 50 years—i.e. within the lifetime of a child of mine or yours who has just reached the age of 15.

Therefore, all of Egypt's resources must be reevaluated to determine the optimal use for each in the framework of the most feasible solutions, in order to arrive at a /National Plan/ [in boldface], one which will be the property of the people of Egypt, and in which every citizen will have an obligation for productive labor in order to reach the goals set for the period and in order to achieve prosperity for the country. This plan will be binding on all governing bodies, whatever their political nature, in order to insure the country's progress toward a life of self-sufficiency and honor.

2. It is self-evident that there can be no life without food produced or purchased from others' production. Egypt's past prosperity was based and the current prosperity of advanced countries is based on agriculture as a source of food and of raw materials for agricultural industries. Food is security; security is a source of prosperity; prosperity means self-sufficiency. We can have no security from the agricultural yield of 5.8

million feddans, which provide only 30 percent of our food needs, given the increase in the population of Egypt, the encroachment of residential settlement at the expenses of agricultural land, the fragmentation of agricultural holdings and of the irrigation and drainage networks. Within the ruinous framework of social and economic problems that we are bequeathing to our children today, it will be impossible to build a future for the space and electronic generation.

Therefore, agricultural land must be expanded to provide large areas for reclamation and cultivation. These must be planned and exploited by the most advanced current technology. They must be made the property of coming generations of the Egyptian people as quickly as possible, so that this modern agriculture can become the basis of transition to a new economic structure.

3. It is self-evident that there can be no agriculture without water, particularly in the presently unexploited Egyptian desert, which forms over 90 percent of the area of Egypt. Although large quantities of surface and ground water are available, we are now wasting them by continuing to rely on a system of water transport and irrigation and on traditional crops inherited from past centuries.

We are presently squandering an average of /9,000 cubic metres/ [in bold-face] of water a year to irrigate one feddan, which could be surface irrigated with an average of only /4,000 cubic metres/ [in boldface] of water. Five thousand cubic metres of water are lost in the water transport network and in distribution to the fields. Meanwhile, we know that modern water transport and irrigation systems (surface, spray, or drip irrigation) used in countries with conditions similar to ours have reached /2,000 cubic metres/ [in boldface] yearly per feddan.

Therefore, we must take all implementation measures within a policy of water usage control so as to make more water available. This would include:

- a. Exploiting the water of the High Dam lake to increase water storage by dealing with evaporation, which now costs us about 10 billion cubic metres of water a year.
- b. Establishment of a modern system to move water from the lake to new and old agricultural lands, a system that would guarantee that water is not wasted in transit and that would save the Egyptian farmer the labor of raising water into the fields and enable him to use modern irrigation devices on his land.
- c. Exploitation of ground water in the Nile Valley and the Delta to increase the quantity of water available for agricultural expansion; storage in ground reservoirs of excess water from high flood years after the High Dam lake is filled, as a backup for successive years of drought.
- d. Exploitation of waste water as available, instead of allowing it to drain uselessly into the sea (19 billion cubic metres a year); taking advantage

of the additional Nile water to be allocated to Egypt after completion of the Upper Nile projects in accordance with international agreements between the countries of the Nile basin.

4. It is self-evident that there can be no agriculture without arable land to be farmed, appropriate agricultural crops, and the aforementioned water policy—to ensure food and clothing to the Egyptian people, to save what is now spent on imports, and to provide a higher economic return from processed agricultural exports so as to enable the building of prosperity in the other sectors of the economy. Since God has endowed Egypt with the silt of the Nile, which has turned the sand of the desert into prime agricultural land, the transport of silt to the desert might serve as a basis for desert land reclamation—unless silt can be replaced by something else to make the land of the desert fertile.

Therefore, the lands of the Egyptian desert, wherever they lie, must be classified, within the framework of the National Plan, for reclamation either with or without the use of Nile silt. A national agricultural policy must be established, consistent with a national water use policy, in the framework of large farms managed by publicly owned companies. Every Egyptian who is able should own a share in these companies, and every worker should own a worker's share of the company's capital as a just distribution of the yield of labor. These public companies can be financed locally or internationally, if assurance is provided of sound management able to guarantee the export of a portion of the crop in return for hard currency to be earned by advance sales to the major international agricultural product companies. Also, the activity of such public companies could be broadened to include agricultural and animal-related industries.

5. If we save a large quantity of water, we shall be able to expand greatly. Stated simply, the situation is as follows:

Presently: an average of 9,000 cubic metres of water per feddan per year  $\times$  5.8 million feddans = 52.2 billion cubic metres.

The Ministry Plan: an average of 7,000 cubic metres of water per feddan per year x 7.5 million feddans = 52.5 billion cubic metres.

Egypt of the Future Project, first phase: an average of 4,000 cubic metres of water per feddan per year x 13.1 million feddans = 52.4 billion cubic metres.

Egypt of the Future Project, second phase: an average of 2,000 cubic metres of water per feddan per year  $\times$  26.3 million feddans = 52.6 billion cubic metres.

This is without taking account of new water sources that might be added in the future. It is clear that such a desirable and possible increase in agricultural land will demand integration of all sectors of the Egyptian economy in the framework of the National Plan, and that it will require great investments of money and human effort. These will yield both immediate and long-term returns to the Egyptian economy in the shape of future prosperity.

Therefore, studies for this National Plan and for the projects emanating from it must be prepared, so as to insure full confidence of local and international funding sources in the feasibility of the technical and financial studies. Also, we must provide management expertise specialized in carrying out and managing such works at the highest level of competence, both to guarantee that the return covers the cost and to train Egyptian technicians in the private sector to manage and develop their projects.

- 6. It is self-evident that in order to prepare the draft of a National Plan of such scope one must move through successive phases of information gathering and analysis, so as to reach the desired goals. This includes:
- a. A stage of preliminary studies of water availability for an increase of agricultural area; studies of desirable crop varieties; formulation and comparison of potential solutions to choose the most suitable economically. This study will take about a year, and its estimated cost will come to approximately \$2 million. A number of western countries have expressed readiness to finance this study.
- b. A stage of feasibility studies, which will include a detailed elaboration of the solution chosen at the feasibility stage; completion of studies in all other sectors of the Egyptian economy in order to prepare the Egyptian National Plan and national plans for each of the sectors of the Egyptian economy for a period of 25 years; also, preparation of the first 5-year implementation plan in detail, and of the main outlines of the subsequent 5-year plans. This study will take 3 years, at an estimated cost of \$25 million. It is self-evident that it, too, could be financed by friendly nations or by international monetary agencies.
- c. The phases of implementation studies and of subsequent field implementation: these could be financed by the companies set up to exploit these projects when the return becomes available out of whose yield the local and international loans advanced can to be paid off.

Therefore, we must start these studies as quickly as possible, exploiting the best international expertise side by side with Egyptian expertise, far from the bureaucracy of government agencies and the short-term policies of changing administrations.

7. It is self-evident that in the Egypt of the Future project—an idea for a National Plan—irrigation and agriculture form the foundation, and that all sectors of the Egyptian economy will participate in covering the costs and reaping the benefits. Whereas the ministry of Dr 'Abd—al'Aziz Hijazi decided in 1974 to study it, on the basis of the support of Dr Hammad Yusuf, professor of irrigation and former dean of the College of Engineering at Alexandria University, and of a written recommendation issued by the Arthur D. Little Company and Bechtel International (both American firms) affirming the soundness of the idea and its freedom from any insurmountable technical obstacle; and whereas the plan was set aside without any scientific study when the ministry of Dr 'Abd—al—'Aziz Hijazi changed—I think it appropriate

to present the project to the people of Egypt and to their ruler, the president of the republic, through the medium of the Egyptian press. I was surprised when the minister of irrigation took it upon himself to assert in the newspaper and before the People's Assembly, without meeting me, that the plan was not feasible. I have prepared a preliminary study of the irrigation aspect of the project, with the participation of the Swiss firm, Bonnard and Gardel. Their study states that it would be possible in the first phase to provide water to bring 13 million feddans into cultivation--i.e. an increase of 7.3 million feddans. Yet, in spite of my having met with representatives of the agencies of the Ministry of Irrigation and of our having agreed that it would be possible to provide the water and reclaim new lands in the desert (though we disagreed on the amount of water and the area of land), we still read and listen to the emotionalism of the minister of irrigation, who keeps insisting that he convinced me to withdraw my project "because of its unfeasibility"! At the same time, the minister published the statement we have reprinted on this page! Therefore, I have no choice but to continue to call on every Egyptian man and woman to share with me in prayer and effort, in patience and hope for the commencement of serious study of the future of our children. My project still continues to be a step toward the prosperity of our beloved country.

This project is the property of Egypt as a whole. It is not subject to one minister who can put himself simultaneously in the position of judge and adversary in relation to a national project that has been approved and sanctioned by world experts (Arthur D. Little and Bechtel), as well as by Swiss consulting firms—a minister who will not approve of any individual's presenting a project for the welfare of Egypt unless his ministry is its author.

This project is a national project that must be examined by a committee of Egyptian experts in tandem with a committee of foreign specialists. In the end, the decision, based on a study by both sides, should be made by the president of the republic, for it is a plan into which all the ministries and departments enter (Agriculture, Irrigation, Electricity, Roads, Housing, Construction, etc.), not just one ministry. It stands as part of a National Plan for the Twentieth Century. As God said in His Book: "Say, 'Work, and God will surely see your work, and His Messenger, and the believers.'"
[Koran 9:105]

12937 CSO: 4504/451

EGYPT

MINISTER DISCUSSES WATER CONSERVATION, DEVELOPMENT OF IRRIGATION

Cairo ARHIR SA'AH in Arabic 17 Jul 85 pp 12-13

[Interview with Eng 'Isma Radi, minister of irrigation, by Suhayr al-Husayni: "Minister of Irrigation Speaks Frankly: Flood Is Medium and We Will Not Resort to Dam Store; Why We Rejected 'Imaginary Project' for Irrigation of New Lands; Problem of Water Loss and Misuse: Reasons and Cure; Health Reports Attest Nile Water Is Unpolluted"]

[Text] Rest assured, this year's flood is medium and meets our needs without affecting water storage in the High Dam.

With these optimistic words, 'Isam Radi, minister of irrigation, began his comprehensive interview with AKHIR SA'AH.

The drop of water has its value and importance in the balance of progress and development, especially since we are a country where agricultural production holds top place.

If we learn that the per capita average share of cultivable land in Egypt has declined to 0.16 feddans and that this share, small as it is, will be difficult to maintain until the year 2000 when Egypt's population will grow to 70 million unless the current cultivable area, hovering around 6 million feddans only, is increased;

When we learn that the Nile is the main source of water for Egypt, representing 95 percent of our total water resources, and that all the development projects depend on the Nile;

And when we learn that despite the concerted efforts exerted by the irrigation officials to develop our water resources in order to meet the country's immediate and long-term needs, there have always been obstacles curtailing the proper use of the available water--reasons led by wastefulness and misuse which squander a large part of our available resources;

When we learn all this, it becomes necessary to pause with the top official in charge of water and irrigation and the chairman of the Higher Committee To Protect the Nile River from Pollution to find out the reasons for these problems and obstacles and the possibility of finding a sound cure to preserve and develop our water wealth.

[Question] The interview with Engr 'Isam Radi, minister of irrigation, began with a question on the indicators emerging so far regarding this year's flood level and on whether we will need to resort to Egypt's reserve water store in the High Dam or not.

[Answer] So far, all the indicators foretell a medium flood. This means that Egypt will obtain its share as allotted in the treaty on the division of the Nile water without touching the High Dam water. The full picture will become clear in August when we will determine our water situation.

[Question] So the current expectations are that we will get enough water from the Nile this year without any need for the High Dam water?

[Answer] Not enough but by the degree allotted by the treaty. There is a difference between the two phrases. Many people believe that when the flood is high, we get a bigger volume than our allotted share and that, on the other hand, when the flood is low, we get less. This is a wrong idea.

The philosophy of the presence of the High Dam is to guarantee Egypt's share of the Nile water. This means that as long as the flood is medium this year, no amount will be added to the High Dam's store or drawn from it.

[Question] It is well known that the High Dam's water store does not exceed 1 year of Egypt's water consumption. Is there a plan to make up for this short-coming?

[Answer] Every year, the ministry studies the flood conditions and what measures or precautions may be taken if the flood is at a medium or low level.

An example of such a step is the use of a different crop structure and the other measures announced and published by the ministry. But God be thanked, the indications show so far this year that we will not be compelled to resort to these measures.

Upper Nile Projects

[Question] If the flood meets our basic water needs, then does the ministry have a plan to tackle the agricultural expansion and the desert development policy embraced by the state currently?

[Answer] Certainly. The ministry is tied to a set program for which it has secured water from the Nile and through developing the transport and use of water. This is in addition to using underground water and sewerage water after it is treated, as is the case currently in Southern Cairo and al-Jizah.

We have a complete plan in this regard through which an area of 2.3 million feddans will be reclaimed by the year 2000. In case the Upper Nile projects are implemented, we will be able to reclaim 3 million feddans.

[Question] Work on the Upper Nile projects has begun in participation with the Sudanese government. When will these projects be completed?

[Answer] The Jonglei Canal was the start of the Upper Nile projects and is aimed at reducing water loss in the swamplands in the Upper Nile. Implementation has actually started with financing from the Egyptian and Sudanese governments, with the two governments sharing the water benefits. Implementation is currently underway and we hope to complete the project soon.

Story of Imaginary Project

[Question] Now that we are discussing all the means to secure irrigation water and increase the cultivable area, why did the ministry reject the "Future Egypt" project submitted by Dr Ibrahim Kamil--a project which calls for cultivating 7.5 million feddans by rationing water at the rate of 4,000 cubic meters per feddan instead of the current 9,000 cubic meters?

[Answer] (Speaking frankly, Engr 'Isam Radi said:)

Regrettably, Dr Ibrahim Kamil's project is an "imaginary project." In this office, we were able to persuade Dr Kamil and his advisers of the faultiness of his convictions and he withdrew his project and departed.

He wants us to draw up a fundamental plan to determine the area of the cultivable lands and the quantities of water available and to take aerial photographs of Egypt. We already have such studies and we do not need for them a consulting office that would charge us 100,000 pounds, a sum that would undoubtedly be wasted.

We do not wish to repeat the story of the sanitary sewerage in Alexandria.

[Question] Can we get a brief idea of Dr Ibrahim Kamil's project?

[Answer] This project was submitted by Dr Ibrahim Kamil in 1973 under the name of "Egypt's Future." It is summed up in the possibility of irrigating a new area in Egypt amounting to 25 million feddans by setting a ration of 1,400 cubic meters per feddan for irrigation. This means that he is a person who has no knowledge of the science of hydraulics or of horticulture. He talks like any ordinary man sitting at a cafe. Specialized university professors have studied this project and established the invalidity of the hydraulic principles on which it is founded.

This is why when Dr Kamil presented his project once more a few months ago, we formed a committee of specialists from the ministry and the university at the request of the Council of Ministers. But I day before the meeting, Dr Kamil submitted to the committee a modified project stating that the area to be reclaimed is 7.5 million feddans by setting a ration of 4,500 cubic meters per feddan for irrigation. The meeting was postponed to study the new project.

After lengthy discussions, the committee concluded that the principles on which the project is founded are invalid, whether in terms of the available water resources or in terms of hydraulic uses and principles. At these discussion meetings, we presented the studies made by the ministry and by the scientific research agencies—studies in whose light the water policy and the horizontal agricultural expansion plans have been drawn up.

Before the prime minister and in my presence, Dr Ibrahim Kamil admitted that he is not specialized in the field of irrigation but that as an Egyptian and as an architectural planner, he submitted a number of visions and ideas of which he dreams for the sake of his country and which he hopes to crystallize. He withdrew his project. Yet, we were surprised on the following day to find a paid announcement published in all the dailies saying that we had rejected the project. We don't know the reason for this.

## Why Water Loss?

[Question] Is what is said about the loss of 3,000 cubic meters in the irrigation of each feddan true?

[Answer] Loss of water in irrigation varies from area to area and from crop to crop.

Yes, it is possible and we hope to utilize the plan being prepared by the ministry to save 10-15 percent of the water lost each year in agriculture. We will thus have saved 7.5 billion cubic meters of water.

We have begun implementing this plan this year and we are thinking of setting up a national committee to supervise the proper use of irrigation water, not to rationalize this use.

[Question] As long as the water loss is at such a high percentage, then 4,500 cubic meters of water per feddan is a reasonable figure?

[Answer] No. This volume is not enough. We transport the water from Aswan. There is a loss on the way. If we say, let us transport water through pipelines, then we will lose an important aspect, namely electricity production. We do use pipelines but not in the manner prescribed by the "Future Egypt plan," which calls for the use of 33 pipelines, each with a diameter of 10 meters, i.e., each with a height of 3 floors in an apartment building. This plan thus abolishes the Nile and the water just flows through pipelines. This is how this plan makes its projection of saving 50 percent of the water loss.

This is impossible. Nowadays, if a slight shortage develops in a canal, the farmers' complaints rise immediately. This is why you hardly hear any complaints about a shortage of water even though we are in a drought year.

This is why I say that we employ the phrase "proper water use" not the phrase "rationalization of water use." Crops are like infants and if they are not given the water they need at the right time and with the right volume they get damaged. This is the reason I bring to account any agricultural engineer who I find has given the farmer less water than his crop needs. To me, such an engineer is the same as an engineer who gives more than needed. In both cases, the crop is damaged.

## Problem of Water Misuse

[Question] But one of the reasons for the water waste is perhaps the farmers' misuse of the irrigation water--a misuse which causes a squandering of a large amount of water resources?

[Answer] The waste and misuse of irrigation water are due to numerous factors, of which I will mention the following:

- The farmers' encroachments on the water canals and their perpetration of irrigation violations by opening extra sluices to draw larger amounts of water to irrigate their lands. There is a faulty belief among the farmers that an increase in water will result in an equal increase in crops.
- The primitive irrigation means and the ancient system of irrigation by flow and innundation which is prevalent in most of our lands and which has reduced the efficiency of irrigation in Egypt by 45-55 percent.
- The inefficiency of the sluices and water control installations and their failure to achieve adequate precision in water distribution.
- The problem of water seepage in canals passing through sandy lands.
- The disinclination of the farmers to employ night irrigation, which was prevalent for long years. This has made the irrigation network, fundamentally designed to operate 24 hours a day, incapable of meeting the irrigation needs of the farmers who rush to irrigate their land in the daytime.
- Economic factors embodied in the fact that irrigation water is supplied free of charge. Consequently, there is no economic control regulating the farmers' water consumption.
- The failure to level the cultivable lands in most areas, thus undermining the possibility of field irrigation.

[Question] And what is the cure for all these problems?

[Answer] We must pause to put all these problems and obstacles under the light and to begin the steps for the cure. The first of these steps is the development of this irrigation. This development must follow two paths:

First, develop the general, main and subsidiary irrigation networks and the distribution ditches. This is what we mean by precise water distribution.

Second, development within the field itself, i.e., development of the operations which the farmer carries out in his field, such as the system of field irrigation, cleveling the land or the agricultural service processes.

We also say that the development of irrigation must be channeled toward the newly reclaimed lands and the old cultivable lands, even though the methods of approach differ in each case.

Plan To Develop Irrigation

[Question] When will the implementation of this plan begin?

[Answer] We actually started in 1984 with the phase of experiments and pioneer projects to determine the means for implementation of the strategy. The ministry's Water Research Center has been entrusted with carrying out the experiments to rationalize water use in the old lands.

The experiments included all the water and agricultural field activities pertaining to rationalization. Meanwhile, the ministry launched the project to replace and renew the main irrigation installations with a grant from a U.S. international agency. This project will continue until these areas come under the comprehensive development programs.

The experimental phase was completed by the end of 1984 and then a national conference was held to discuss the results. It is now necessary to expand at the national level. The first phase of the national program has actually been launched with work in 125,000 feddans in al-Minya in which irrigation will be developed within 3 years as of 1985 at a total cost of 34 million pounds. The development work includes stemming seepage in the canals by lining them or by using pipelines and supplying the irrigation networks with modern sluices and with control and measurement equipment.

Water use in the development areas amounted in the past to 8,000-9,000 cubic meters per feddan but has been reduced since development started to 5,000-6,000 cubic meters.

At the same time, the ministry launched other development projects, the most important being a project for the development of 50,000 feddans in al-Daqahliyah with a grant from Canada and 5,000 feddans in al-Minufiyah with a loan from the World Bank.

Studies have also been conducted on 30,000 feddans in al-Gharbiyah Governorate. The average annual yield of these activities has been estimated at 150 pounds per feddan, not to mention the indirect yield embodied in a saving of no less than 15 percent in water consumption as a result of enhanced irrigation efficiency.

Protecting Nile from Pollution

[Question] In your capacity as chairman of the Higher Committee for the Protection of the Nile River, which is the committee entrusted with protecting the river from pollution, what have you done so far to achieve this objective?

[Answer] Law No 48 of the People's Assembly has given this right to the Ministry of Irrigation. But protecting the Nile River from pollution is not as easy as some people imagine.

[Question] And what are the difficulties or obstacles impeding the achievement of this objective?

[Answer] We do not work independently. Several ministries must cooperate with us.

For example, there are the plants that dump their wastes into the Nile. They belong to the Ministry of Industry. There are also the cargo ships that belong to the Ministry of Transportation and there are the cities and villages whose sewage seeps into the Nile.

Tackling all this requires financial appropriations and this is something which the Ministry of Irrigation does not possess on its own.

If I ask a ministry, such as the Ministry of Industry, to give me so many million to purchase equipment to treat factory wastes, that ministry ponders whether to give me the money or to develop the factory.

This is why we have presented the issue to the Policies Committee and to the Council of Ministers. There is a report submitted by the Scientific Research Academy in cooperation with the ministry. In this report, we have formulated a 7-year work program, whose implementation started this year with a budget of 50 million pounds, to purify the Nile River water.

[Question] What is the Nile water pollution rate at present?

[Answer] A report by the Ministry of Health states that if we consider wastes and sewage, then the water is polluted. But if we consider the mixture of these wastes with the river water and the flow of the water, then the river is considered generally unpolluted. However, the state authorities concerned must take into account all international standards to protect the river course and to prevent any future pollution.

[Question] What progress has been achieved in implementing the laws to protect the Nile River from pollution since implementation of the work program started?

[Answer] Law No 48 is being currently implemented firmly with the knowledge of the irrigation directorates in the governorates and with the assistance of the various agencies of the other ministries and of the General Environmental Protection Directorate of the Ministry of Health which conducts the required tests. All the violations causing pollution of the waterways have been determined by the irrigation agencies. These violations have amounted to 2,100, and 1,500 citations have been issued against the violators.

Five service stations have been established to serve vessels operating on the Nile. This has been done within the framework of the Higher Committee's resolutions. The stations are located in al-Minya, Asyut, Sawhaj, Luxor and Alexandria. This national campaign has produced promising and encouraging results. Numerous tourist vessels have begun to install the purification equipment approved by the agencies concerned.

Some plants have also begun to build purification basins to end the pollution of Nile River water. This has been achieved in the shortest time possible as a result of the concerted efforts. Moreover, there is a growing awareness and change of behavior among both individuals and organizations.

8494

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LIBYA

#### REORGANIZATION OF REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES URGED

Tripoli AL-JAMAHIRIYAH in Arabic 26 Jul 85 p 7

[Editorial: "Committees To Change Themselves Before They Change Society"]

[Text] The achievement of revolutionary change is not contingent upon the existence of an agent that can effect that change. Numerous analyses are trying to suggest that a link between effecting change and the agent that brings about that change, the revolutionary agent, does exist. But such analyses are neither correct nor accurate; nor is there a realistic justification for them. In the first place, the justification for the existence of a revolutionary agent is based on the totality of complex social circumstances that do not themselves allow revolutionary actions to be carried out; nor do they allow those actions that would have to be taken in a revolutionary movement that can bring about such a change.

The truth of the matter is that if these actual circumstances which prescribed the existence of a revolutionary movement as an agent and a means of revolutionary change are not backed up by the power of the movement itself and by the programs it is proposing, then that movement's existence becomes merely nominal and ineffective.

Revolutionary committees exist because of the totality of circumstances that require their active intervention. Such intervention undermines the basic elements of those measures that conflict with a revolutionary ideology set forth by this agent for change. In this case revolutionary committees would play a role that allows them to assist in bringing about a revolutionary action.

Accordingly, a revolutionary movement is a historical undertaking that is the product of actual social exigencies. It is also temporary and is based on the need to change all of society and make it follow the pattern of commitment set by members of the revolutionary committees. This is what makes the function of a revolutionary movement temporary; that function ends when the image of the new model society is completed.

The premises that made the inception of the revolutionary committees' movement inevitable are manifested in the unjust rules of society. These are considered black marks impeding society's efforts to create for the people that life which was promised by The Green Book. Social factors thus become temporal regulatory agents.

In other words, revolutionary committees serve no function in a society where there are no unjust rules; they serve no function in a people's society where power, revolution and weapons are controlled by the masses. In such a society the function of revolutionary committees is that of every individual in that society, and the existence of a revolutionary movement that carries out emergency functions across the board among the people is unwarranted. The actions of revolutionary committees are based principally on the fact that their members-and this is a condition that may not be overlooked -- must be morally, religiously and nationally committed. In other words, a member of a revolutionary committee must be a model individual. This is a basic rule that is derived from the spirit of the movement itself, which is the revolutionary theory. When this essential commitment is missing from a movement, even partially missing, that movement loses much of its dynamic quality, and its effectiveness among the people is seriusly impaired, particularly when it is functioning in a social setting that represents all the spiritual and moral backwardness of a pre-revolutionary society. That is why any new tendency to reorganize the movement of revolutionary committees and upgrade that movement to the level of the revolutionary theory's morals and values is one that should be based on well-founded principles and should have nothing to do with these formal and superficial measures.

The existing reorganization of these revolutionary committees stems from a very narrow superficial view that considers the matter of abiding by the regulations that are set by revolutionary committees at their revolutionary gatherings non-essential or perhaps political and temporary. The existing reorganization regards revolutionary committees as nothing more than a seasonal presence and a temporary effort which will soon fade away with time. Faced with such reorganizations, revolutionary committees were in many cases responsible for actions that were not part of the programs from which their daily activities should have been derived. Their daily actions did not conform to the ideas they set forth, and they relied on an opinion which states, "We are just revolutionaries!"

What is even worse is that many of the issues to which revolutionary committees have committed themselves were not achieved at all. This would suggest that the movement itself needs to re-evaluate itself and ask itself historical questions. It needs to come up with what will be undeniably correct and revolutionary answers to those questions.

Revolutionary committees that are engaged in a democratic dialogue with other committees and, in the process, place themselves in an inflexible framework must realize that having "a feeble background of awareness" is totally irrelevant. Revolutionary committees must realize that their democratic dialogue has to be based on the ideological precepts and the intellectual steadfastness of committee members who have grasped the people's ideas and understood the theories of the Green Book. Accordingly, resorting to simple procedures and taking steps toward practicing an effective democracy within the movement is an issue that must be taken into account. Any future concerted effort by the revolutionary committees must be accompanied by mature procedures and credible solutions to problems. Revolutionary committees are agents of change within our society, but they need to change themselves before they can change society. They must consider the foundations of their actual organization, which is based on the movement's ideological disposition to revolution, not on its emotional partiality to it. Let all the existing falsehoods in the movement, which are trying to call for an unsteady, emotional movement, stop as of now.

8592

CSO: 4504/447

LIBYA

#### DECREE TO ELIMINATE FOREIGN WORKFORCE ISSUED

Tripoli AL-JAMAHIRIYAH in Arabic 26 Jul 85 pp 12, 13

[Article by Mahmud al-Liblab: "The Steadfast Position: Revolutionary Decree Marks Beginning of an Effort To Achieve a Jamahiriyah-Style Unity among Arab Peoples"]

[Text] Based on the decisions made by the masses of the Basic People's Congresses, the secretariat of the General People's Committee for Justice issued a decree allowing any Arab citizen residing in Libya or elsewhere to receive Arab citizenship simply by applying for it. The masses' decision was based on the belief that real Arab unity is the unity of the Arab masses. Arab rulers have failed to live up to their word and to fulfill the Arabs' aspirations for unity.

This decision also stems from the belief that the pro-unity Arab people of Libya have in the establishment of an Arab Jamahiriyah. The pro-unity Arab people of Libya want such a state from which the masses could launch an effort to liberate the Arab homeland from the ocean to the gulf. The record shows that the Libyan people's revolutionary struggle for unity came at a time when all the treacherous, reactionary Arab regimes were wallowing in treason and regionalism.

This decision makes it impossible for anyone to stir up any doubts about the people's decree to do without foreign workers. That decision was a painful blow to the enemies who have been lying in wait for the Arab masses and claiming that Libya was contradicting itself. They claimed that Libya was expelling Arabs who were working in the country even as it was calling for Arab unity. All those seeds of discord were being sown by failing and bankrupt clients who have been trying to revive their declining regimes. The revolutionary implications of that decision require no further explanations. That decision defined foreign workers and separated them from the Arab masses who reside and live willingly in Libya. The thousands of Arabs who heeded the call and chose to join their Arab Libyan brothers in creating the nucleus of an Arab Jamahiriyah and setting up its efforts to make progress and to build are the ones who deserve to be honored as revolutionaries. Their only concern has been that of destroying the agents of political. economic and social oppression who hide behind the contrived borders of those who do business with the enemies of this nation and seek the help of the U.S. fleet when there is any popular uprising.

A distinction must be made here between Arabs who are pro-unity and prorevolution and reactionary Arabs who support treacherous, client regimes. Those reactionary Arabs are content to support their regimes and the treasuries of their governments which recognize the enemy and deal with him. Such support strengthens the existence of those regimes and firmly establishes the course of treason and shirking responsibility. We must treat such people as foreigners with whom we have no relations. If we were to treat them as brothers, we would be contradicting ourselves as a progressive, revolutionary, liberal Jamahiriyah that rejects Arab defeat.

Libya is thus affirming its steadfast and unswerving pro-unity position. As a progressive, pro-unity national power, Libya affirms that it does not contradict its own principles. That decree was issued out of concern for the revolution's victory; it was issued to confirm the revolution in Libya and throughout the entire Arab region. We've proclaimed the slogan that al-Jamahiriyah is the land for all Arabs. That slogan is materializing now that the people's pro-unity decree has been issued. It is a decree that calls every day for the destruction of all those who suppress and oppress Arabs who are shackled by the chains of regionalism.

The objectives of the peoples' decree to do without the foreign labor force and deport foreigners residing in Libya are clear and need no further explanation. That decree stems from the peoples' awareness and understanding. The people have accepted the notion of relying on their own resources to implement the projects and cultural achievements that are being seen in Libya. The decision made by the masses of the People's Congresses to do without foreign workers and to exclude from that decision Arab workers who will willingly live with their Arab Libyan brothers is a revolutionary decision that indicates that the people have reached a level of awareness that allows them to understand their real interests. That decision to do without foreign workers means the end of the ongoing drain on society's treasury, which was a result of transferring large quantities of foreign currency abroad in return for consumer services that were rendered by those foreigners and that citizens in Libya can render.

The following figures show how much danger the local economy is exposed to as a result of overburdening society's budget. Statistics indicate that there are over 1 million foreign workers and over 800 foreign firms in Libya siphoning out of the country about 150 million pounds a month. These funds are transferred abroad and used in foreign investments whose political tendencies are unknown to us. Some of these funds are deposited in the coffers of regimes that oppose Libya. In addition, many commodities and pieces of equipment are taken out of the markets and sent abroad.

The peoples' decree also stems from their awareness of the various security activities that are undertaken against us. The people are aware of the numerous dangers to society that are posed by what those people imported from abroad. The people want to put an end to the capitalist mentality that comes with their reliance on foreign workers who implement their exploitative programs. The people also realize the danger that companies pose. They realize that relying on those companies means having ties to them, coming under their control and following the wishes of consumers who submit to their provocations. This, of

course, would fly in the face of the tendencies of the Libyan Jamahiriyah, which is considered a stronghold for freedom and for resistance to imperialism. Libya does not at all accept the notion of relinquishing its independence and submitting to the conditions set by these hordes of foreigners. We will not submit, nor will we yield to the East, the West or foreign corporations. Also the economic conditions that the world is experiencing as a result of the economic imbalance that has been imposed by imperialist countries made us adopt foundations for our economy that are based on what we can do and the resources we can provide. This requires us to save every penny that used to be sent abroad. We must also adopt an austere policy so we can create a new productive economy that will remain immune to doubts about our ability to rely on ourselves.

The decision to do without foreign workers is a grave decision that was made by the masses after they became certain of their ability to replace those workers. To keep that decision from becoming fruitless, let us roll up our sleeves and remove the dangers of relying on others. Executive people's agencies have to make practical, revolutionary plans to create workable alternatives to those foreign workers. This must be done in a scientific manner that avoids makeshift and disorderly measures. Executive people's agencies must rely on all available resources. They must turn the armies of "paper pushers" who strengthen the bureaucracy into productive workers who can create a new civilization. They must firmly establish vocational education so that we can have skilled workers; and they must curb futile, traditional modes of education. Authorized people's committees and secretariats in all cities must promptly carry out the proposal of people's productive cities because that is the best method for confirming individual and community initiatives, regulating administrative and service matters that citizens themselves initiate, and turning the nation's attention to production and construction sites.

The new stage that has been set by the masses will have no significance unless the masses accept the challenge and begin to devote themselves to production, giving up laziness and reliance on others. We can thus set an example to the world of how a people's state can be built, a state whose glory is forged by its own citizens. Such an example would complete the image of an ideal people's society, a productive society that believes that independence cannot be achieved by people who import their bread and butter from overseas.

8592 CSO: 4504/456

LIBYA

## TUNISIAN DAILY CRITICIZED

Tripoli AL-JAMAHIRIYAH in Arabic 26 Jul 85 p 8

[Article by Sa'id al-Muzughi: "The Infamy of Those Who Are Apologists for the Americans"]

[Text] It seems that some people do not learn their lessons readily. It seems that they need more than one blow to their brazen faces, and it seems that they need to be humiliated more than once before they can wake up from their stupor.

Why else would people, who are obviously working for American intelligence and the rascist, Ba'th regime in Iraq, and who were foisted upon the Tunisian newspaper, AL-SABAH, write what they wrote in the article entitled, "Diplomatic Flashes?"

Such people who speak of doom and gloom have been trying for some time to place stumbling blocks in front of the economic integration between Libya and Tunisia. These people were the first to build a wall of suspicion between the two fraternal countries.

They've changed their style, and they've gone as far as publishing surreptitious news and disinformation about an alleged Soviet Union presence in Libya.

Don't these inconsequential people know that to date Libya is the only country that opposes [foreign] bases and alliances? Don't they know that Libya is the country that expelled the strongest of foreign forces from its untainted soil?

Going against the noble objectives of the Arab nation and bucking the growing Arab tide of unity will create nothing but Arab feelings of rancor and wrath against those hirelings who are working for this newspaper and who are beginning to jeopardize relations between the two countries. In doing so they are serving no one but colonialists, reactionaries and international Zionists.

Did Arab newspapers always get their news from "diplomatic and western press sources?"

And when did reports from American spy satellites become a source of newspaper news?

How can satellites take a picture of anyone contemplating some sort of action?

Can satellites take pictures of what people are thinking, or is this a blatant attempt to give "others" an excuse to react and take an action based on such an allegation?

We believe, and we will assert this emphatically, that just as money is paid for classified advertisements, money was paid to have this news story published. But although the news story was published, the manner in which it was written revealed the falsehood and prevarication of those people.

That is why we are very much ashamed of such debasement of journalistic practices. We are ashamed of that degradation in which those people, who have been foisted on a newspaper like the Tunisian newspaper, AL-SABAH, are wallowing.

We sincerely hope that the owners of this newspaper will correct that deviant situation and restore proper practices to their newspaper before it is too late. We believe that it is time to expose those who have infiltrated this and other newspapers. Such exposure would serve the objectives of both countries who want to develop the integration between them so as to serve the interests of the two fraternal peoples. Exposing the infiltrators would also serve the objectives of the Arab nation for liberation and freedom from the degradation of subordination and containment.

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8592 CSO: 4504/447

MOROCCO

PROBLEMS IN CONVENING ARAB SUMMIT OUTLINED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 3-9 Jul 85 p 10

[Article by Talhah Jibril: "Thorny Path to Arab Summit"]

[Text] On the eve of the opening of the first Fes summit in 1981, a group of journalists remained by chance in the royal palace in Fes after missing the buses which should have taken them from the royal palace to the press center at Zallagh Hotel where the rest of their colleagues had been transported to transmit a news item of four words: "Fes summit meetings begun."

No one knew exactly how the Moroccan monarch King Hassan II was going to conduct the summit. It was clear that it would not produce results, after certain Arab leaders, including Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad, failed to appear at the summit where unanimity was desired to establish an Arab peace plan for the first time.

Before long, the Moroccan monarch emerged to meet with the journalists who were inside the royal palace and said that the summit was suspended. Soon the telex machines and telephones at the Zallagh Hotel were once again transmitting a news item of three words: "Fes summit suspended."

At that time many people bet that the Fes summit would be the last, even though Morocco was going to try again to hold another summit, also in Fes. Then came the invasion of Lebanon, the siege of Beirut and the emergence of the resistance. They prepared the atmosphere once again for the second Fes summit in 1982, which reached agreement where the first Fes summit failed. The Moroccan monarch won the bet. He stated that Fes would not be the burial ground of Arab summits.

Again in 1984 the Moroccan monarch issued an invitation to an Islamic summit. This time it was to discuss an extremely sensitive and complicated subject. The agenda of this summit contained 21 points. No one knew how the Moroccan monarch was going to conduct a summit which would require weeks to discuss its indigestible agenda. Again, as chairman of the conference, King Hassan II dismissed the long agenda to focus on an extremely sensitive and complicated matter—the problem of Egypt's return on Islamic terms.

With regard to the Arab and Islamic summits which always are held in Morocco, Moroccans say that their monarch succeeded before, in 1974, in managing

a successful summit which led to recognition of the PLO as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Also, before that, in 1969 he called for an Islamic conference which produced the first organization to include all Islamic nations.

Because of these points and considerations, Moroccans are optimistic about the idea of King Hassan II being able to make the Arab summit, which will probably be convened in mid-July in Morocco, attain its objectives. He has become the uncontested godfather of Arab summits.

In his initiative to convene an emergency summit, the Moroccan monarch has defined one point only to which discussions will be limited—the Palestinian problem. Before the expected summit is convened, no one can declare or surmise how the Moroccan monarch will deal with the subject, given the complicated and extremely confusing facts and variables.

# Three Questions

In order to clarify the picture, one must watch for the answers to three basic questions which arise at present. First, who will attend the coming Arab summit in Morocco? Second, how will the Palestinian problem be handled by a single article on the agenda? Third, what are the chances of failure or success?

As for the first question, Arab nations have dealt with the Moroccan monarch's invitation to an emergency Arab summit in three ways. The first is immediate This position includes Saudi Arabia, approval of holding the summit. Kuwait, Iraq, Jordan, North Yemen, the UAE, Bahrain, Qatar, Oman, the PLO, Sudan, Somalia, Djibouti, Mauritania and Tunisia. The second way includes Algeria, Libya and South Yemen. Algeria announced its reservation about the invitation at the outset. However, it appears that Algeria has softened its stand following the visit of an envoy of the Moroccan monarch to the Algerian capital. This will inevitably lead to Algeria's participation, perhaps on the foreign minister level. Algerian reservations may be justified basically by the fact that holding the summit in Morocco might preclude the participation of President Bendjedid due to the strained relations between Morocco and Algeria. Consequently, Bendjedid would be deprived of the possibility of meeting with Arab leaders. Libya, which expressed its approval of the summit, is practically the only nation to set definite conditions for its approval aimed against any departure from the proposed agenda. The position of South Yemen has not yet become clear.

The third way includes Syria, which is against convening the summit. Syria feels that if the war of the camps is to be the subject of discussion, then the problem has been settled by the signing of the Damascus agreement between the Salvation Front and the Amal movement. Discussion of this subject at a summit would constitute intervention in the internal affairs of Lebanon. Lebanon's position on the summit invitation supports the point of view of Damascus.

We arrive at the fact that the attendance of all Arab nations at the summit has become certain, with the exception of Syria and Lebanon. However, how can a summit be held without Syria, which the Moroccan monarch described at his latest press conference in Marrakech as being a fundamental bridge in solving the Middle East crisis, and Lebanon, on the territory of which all the factors of instability in the entire region have come together?

Here Moroccan sources do not conceal their annoyance with the veto against unanimity which has always hindered the convening of an Arab summit. Therefore these sources talked frankly of a summit in terms of who would attend. On the other hand, these sources feel that the attendance of everyone except Syria will tend to convince Syria to participate, not the contrary. In this context, it appears that what happened in Tunis during the session of the Arab League constitutes strong proof of the interpretation of the Moroccan sources.

We come to the second question about the method of dealing with the Palestinian problem at the summit. It has been noted that at Fes the Arabs embraced a unified plan, although the bumbling Arab mechanism for action did not propel this program toward practical application. It did not move forward. In light of this, will the summit discuss the possibility of finding new mechanisms to propel the Fes program? Or will the summit deal with new factors which have appeared on the scene? Perhaps the most prominent of these is the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement which many people oppose, including even the Moroccan monarch who previously had reservations about it. Will the summit discuss the subject of PLO legitimacy after the events of Tripoli and the attempt to split the PLO, in other words, the subject of reaffirming this legitimacy? How will Syrian opposition to 'Arafat's leadership and the Syrian decision to separate the crisis of Lebanon from the Palestinian problem be surmounted? How will the Palestinian problem be treated in view of the American position rejecting any recognition of the PLO and the Soviet position which is wary of the isolation of Syria from any plan and the exclusion of Moscow from the menu of an international solution?

These many questions are as complicated as the problem! If this is what the picture looks like before the summit is convened, then wondering about the success or failure of this summit is of necessity still conjectural.

One extremely important question remains. Information is circulating in Rabat in diplomatic circles to the effect that the Moroccan monarch has called for the summit and has a great surprise in store. However, what is going on in the mind of Hassan II to steer the fifth summit in Morocco far from all the mines? No one will know until further notice.

7811 CSO: 4504/412

TUNISIA

#### FOREIGN MINISTER BEJI CAID ESSEBSI INTERVIEWED

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London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 28 Jun 85 pp 26, 27

[Interview with Tunisian Foreign Minister Beji Caid Essebsi by Raghidah Durgham: "Bourguiba Plan and Fes Resolutions Are Path to Solution; Recent Decision of Palestinians;" Washington, date unspecified]

[Text] News of the seizure of American hostages in Beirut eclipsed the visit of Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba to Washington, due to the significance of the event which took the American administration and people by surprise. However, the visit in itself is still important, not only in terms of Tunisian-American bilateral relations, but also in terms of the importance of the Arab Maghreb and Tunisia's role in it. The visit is important too because Tunisia is the headquarters of the Arab League and host to the PLO.

In order to learn about what happened during the visit and about Tunisian foreign policy, especially with regard to developments on the Arab scene, AL-HAWADITH met with Foreign Minister Beji Caid Essebsi who was a member of the Tunisian delegation visiting Washington. AL-HAWADITH held the following interview with him.

[Question] Americans view President Bourguiba's visit as merely acceding to his desire to undertake such a visit. This emerged from statements of American officials to the press. They emphasized that the visit was taking place at Bourguiba's request.

[Answer] President Bourguiba visited the United States in 1982 for treatment. At that time he received two invitations from President Ronald Reagan for an official meeting, but President Bourguiba was unable to accept these invitations from Tunisia's friend because of the state of his health. When he regained his health, he felt it appropriate to accept the invitation.

[Question] This is the fifth visit to Washington made by an Arab leader since the beginning of the year.

[Answer] I said that the invitation came in 1982. Thus there is no relationship between President Bourguiba's visit and the other visits, neither in their order or timing.

[Question] During your meeting with President Reagan and his aides, Secretary of State Georgy Schultz presented a tract on the latest developments in the peace process. Did he ask you for anything that would help promote the American peace process?

[Answer] In fact Schultz did give a summary of the peace plan and the latest moves on the scene to achieve peace in the region. During this meeting I also had occasion to present Tunisia's point of view regarding conditions which must be provided for progress toward peace. Certainly the subject of the rights of the Palestinians is the heart of the Middle East problem.

We told our American friends clearly that as long as Israel is not prepared to join the peace plan and as long as there are no direct talks with a principal party, the PLO, we believe that certain fundamental elements for the success of any move are lacking.

[Question] Did the Americans tell you that they consider the proposals of Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres to be a positive response to the proposals of King Husayn and that consequently the ball is now in the Arab court?

[Answer] It is well known that the Americans are friends of Israel and that they have a strategic agreement with Israel. However, the Americans are also the authors of the 1 September plan, in other words, President Reagan's proposals pointing out certain positions which might have merit, in his opinion, in solving the Middle East problem. The agreement concluded on 11 February between King Husayn and the PLO and the resultant move which King Husayn decided to undertake certainly are included in this context. Tunisia has a firm position. First, during talks in Washington, President Bourguiba mentioned that he was the first Arab head of state to call for a dialogue in 1965. It is well known that he brought up the matter of turning to international law and applying the UN resolution, especially Resolution No 181 of 1947 (calling for the establishment of two independent states—Palestine and Israel). President Bourguiba noted that today, after 20 years, he still thinks that this is the best solution and an honorable one.

[Question] President Bourguiba also said at the White House, "Today the Arabs have regretted it."

[Answer] However, he added that in accordance with the bases of Tunisian foreign policy, the most prominent of which is non-intervention in the internal affairs of liberation movements, including the PLO, and respect for PLO independence in making decisions, Tunisia supports any other course approved by the Palestinians, who are in the right.

[Question] You helped in reaching the Amman agreement between King Husayn and Yasir 'Arafat?

[Answer] How did we help?

[Question] You had a role.

[Answer] In Tunisia we always call for following the path of dialogue to improve relations between brothers. We believe that it is good to improve relations between Jordan and the PLO.

[Question] However, why do we not know your clear position on the ll February agreement between King Husayn and Yasir 'Arafat?

[Answer] In Tunisia we believe that the peace plan in question is the Fes plan, on which Arabs are unanimous. Tunisia was one of the nations which joined in reaching and supporting the Fes plan. It is the peace plan to which we are committed. However, if the rightful people, the Palestinians and the PLO, decide on another path, Tunisia will commit itself to its support.

[Question] Tunisia is the headquarters of the PLO. Did this point emerge in talks with the Americans?

[Answer] Certainly. We said that Tunisia is proud of being the headquarters of both the Arab League and the political leadership of the PLO. The presence of the PLO in Tunisia is part of our commitment to the Palestinian problem.

[Question] The question was Tunisia's influence on the PLO and the moderate ranks in the PLO itself.

[Answer] I said that Tunisia does not intervene in the internal affairs of the PLO. We respect the independence of the Palestinians in making decisions. We also believe that the PLO respects Tunisia's sovereignty and does not intervene in our affairs. Whether the PLO follows a moderate line or not, it is a question of its independence in making decisions. It is not a question of any intervention in Tunis.

[Question] However, you said that the matter of Tunisia's playing host to PLO headquarters did emerge during the talks in Washington. How did the conversation revolve on this subject? Were you asked to influence the moderate line in the PLO?

[Answer] They can't say anything of us. In the talks we stated clearly what the president had said publicly in the White House.

[Question] Your statement on the hijacking of the American plane "on the other side of the world" and the seizure of hostages was the first statement by an Arab official. Is that so?

[Answer] I do not know.

[Question] Your statement came immediately after your meeting with George Schultz. They say that he asked you to make a statement about the incident.

[Answer] The position we took is part of our policy. I will remind you that when the Jordanian plane was hijacked, while we were in Paris, the press asked about the incident. I myself gave the answer. I said that Tunisia does not support acts of this kind. Tunisia is against extremism and all use of violence from any side whatever. My statement is part of an established line of our policy. The Americans do not enter into this at all.

[Question] A senior American official attributed a statement to you during the meeting with President Reagan to the effect that this act in itself is a "savage, dreadful act which should be stopped."

[Answer] What I said is in the press and on record.

[Question] The official did not say that you personally mentioned this. He said that during the meeting at the White House some member of the Tunisian delegation said this.

[Answer] I personally did not talk about this matter during the meeting.

[Question] Do you deny that a member of the Tunisian delegation said this to the American president, as an American official stated to the press?

[Answer] President Bourguiba spoke publicly on this subject.

[Question] During the meeting at the White House.

[Answer] We did not discuss this matter during the official meeting.

[Question] Before talks at the White House began, was there no discussion of the hijacking?

[Answer] Not I. I do not remember who in the Tunisian delegation discussed the matter.

[Question] Did you remind the Americans of the factors which have led and tend to lead to such acts directed against them?

[Answer] Of course. In my statement I said that it was not possible to view this act in isolation from its true context, which is the situation in the Middle East and the situation in Lebanon in particular, after the Israeli advance on its territory.

[Question] At one of the press conferences, you said that cooperation was needed among nations to stop terrorist acts.

[Answer] I was not talking about this act. I was talking in general.

[Question] That is true. My question is of a general nature. What do you mean by "cooperation among nations?"

[Answer] We believe that we all are concerned by the problem of violence and hijacking. These are things which violate international law and custom. Everyone who is sincere about this must cooperate to alleviate the conditions in which such incidents may occur in the future.

[Question] Did you feel that the Americans were eager or inclined to carry out acts of revenge?

[Answer] I did not delve into that subject. We did not come to Washington for that problem. We came for other reasons.

[Question] What are those reasons? Is the need for assistance the most important of them?

[Answer] No. We came because we have good relations with the United States. We came to accept an invitation extended to President Bourguiba. This was an occasion to exchange points of view about our relations, which are excellent, about present cooperation between our two countries and about the necessity of strengthening this cooperation, diversifying it and giving it new impetus in the interest of both countries. We have already signed an agreement between our two countries eliminating double taxation. There is no doubt that with regard to our present cooperation, we noticed that each side could improve both its quality and volume.

[Question] What is the desired quality and volume of aid from the United States?

[Answer] Tunisian-American cooperation has existed since the independence of Tunisia. In the past the amount of this cooperation has been greater than it is at present. Tunisia has achieved success both in its economic and industrial policy and in its significant growth. Per capita income in Tunisia is more than \$1,000. Because of this success, Tunisia no longer receives a certain type of aid from the United States and other countries. We said that Tunisia still needs certain types of low-interest loans as well as aid and support.

[Question] That has to do with the economy. What about military matters?

[Answer] We have a program to develop our military equipment. Everyone knows that Tunisia buys arms from the United States, just as it does from other nations such as France or Germany. We buy military equipment from the United States in accordance with a well-known agreement. We think that the conditions it imposes are burdensome. Therefore we are trying to reduce them now so we can continue to abide by them.

[Question] Did you find the answer in Washington?

[Answer] We exchanged points of view, and we found an understanding of the requirements of the situation.

[Question] However, according to one of his aides, Reagan promised to study the matter within the confines of U.S. budget restrictions and did not commit himself to anything more.

[Answer] We are not asking the United States to deal with Tunisia beyond its capacities and means.

[Question] So there is a kind of American evasion or indifference? As long as it is within America's capability, aid to Tunisia is a certainty?

[Answer] We do not think that our friendship is measured by the amount of cooperation or aid. We are friends because we belong to an intellectual family which has similar principles. If there is a possibility for cooperation, we will cooperate. If there is not, we will remain friends.

[Question] What is the other option to support your security requirements?

[Answer] We cooperate with the United States and other nations.

[Question] So far, you have no cooperation with the Soviet Union. Are you now thinking of this option?

[Answer] No.

[Question] Why is one Arab nation in Washington focusing on the menace threatening it by another Arab nation, even if that menace is real? Why present it to the Americans and focus on problems between two Arab nations?

[Answer] We did not focus on that. We believe that Libya is a neighbor state. We have an on-going dialogue with it. We did not single out one state over another. However, we think that Tunisia needs to strengthen its forces and provide elements to be immune at this time, especially in view of the fact that ever since independence, it has not been concerned with the matter of armament and strengthening its military capabilities. We believe that this is necessary, to preserve the gains we have achieved through long struggle and great sacrifices, so that we may have a minimum defense capability to feel immune first of all. I do not think that nations have armies just because there are threats!

[Question] Immunity to resist an internal or external threat?

[Answer] We do not use military equipment for internal threats. However, it is necessary for citizens to feel secure deep in their hearts and confident that their state is capable of facing the possibility of any aggression.

[Question] Let us go on to your statements about indications of progress and the likelihood of success in holding a summit among the Arab Maghreb heads of state. You said that all leaders agreed in principle to a summit. This is the result of efforts made by Tunisia. What is the next step?

[Answer] It is indeed the result of Tunisia's efforts. We undertook contacts with capitals and presidents and reached agreement in principle on holding the summit. We said that the time element had an impact. We could not go from black to white easily. We had to adopt a policy of stages. Tunisia is known to be the author of the policy of stages. We have achieved a stage which is not insignificant, and we have gained a great deal during it. We will wait for the right opportunity to resume these efforts.

[Question] Did you talk with the Americans about...

[Answer] We cannot continue our conversation in this manner. You are questioning me on things which occurred between us and others during official talks in a closed room. If the Americans usually divulge what occurs, ask them to do so. As for me, I will not. If you wish, ask me about foreign policy. You are welcome to do so. If you question me about what happened during the talks and what they said to us and we said to them, I do not think that is worthy of your newspaper.

[Question] Journalism requires us to convey to the Arab reader everything we learn. Therefore we ask you, as an official, to explain what happened and the meaning of what is happening. Americans customarily meet with the press directly, before and after talks, to explain the subjects and positions which emerged during the talks.

[Answer] Then say, "The Americans said."

[Question] That is what we say. For objectivity, we turn to you to learn what you wish to say. Again we ask you what you gathered from this visit?

[Answer] We believe that this visit took place in an extremely favorable atmosphere. The president received the very friendly reception, care and esteem of President Reagan himself. I think that the speech given by President Reagan is clear in this regard. Tunisia's relationship with the United States has emerged stronger than ever after this visit. President Bourguiba came here as president of Tunisia. He did not take on any mission from any party at all on any other subject, neither coming nor going.

[Question] Let us return to the subject of the Arab Maghreb, especially in light of the union agreement between Morocco and Libya and the treaty of brotherhood between Tunisia and Algeria.

[Answer] Tunisia has a treaty of brotherhood and an agreement with Algeria. This agreement is open to everyone and has been proposed to all. It is not an axis. Tunisia and Algeria are against the policy of axes. Mauritania joined this agreement, which is still open to others, because we believe that it is one brick on the path toward building the Greater Arab Maghreb. Next, Morocco and the Libyan Jamahiriyah signed an agreement called the "Oujda Agreement." Tunisia said that it welcomed this accord concluded between two brotherly countries and based on the responsibility and sovereignty of each. Tunisia believes without doubt that this agreement was concluded because it is in the interest of these two countries. It hopes this effort is successful.

However, Tunisia is committed to another agreement. It does not think that it will commit itself to any new agreement at the present time. The Libyan-Moroccan agreement is a union between the two countries. The effort which we are pursuing is not a union effort in a bilateral sense. It is an effort toward coordination in its initial stage and toward integration on the economic level among all nations of the region. We believe that building the Arab Maghreb is a vital necessity for the nations of the region, in view of the challenges may be related to their internal development projects, foreign threats, the climate in which we live or the other groupings with which we deal, such as the European Common Market and others. This is especially true at a time when the European Common Market is expanding to many Mediterranean countries with products that compete with products of Arab Maghreb countries.

7811

CSO: 4504/409

IRAQ

#### AL-THAWRAH ON SYRIAN-LIBYAN-IRANIAN MEETING

JN270954 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0905 GMT 27 Aug 85

[Text] Baghdad, 27 August (INA)—An article in AL-THAWRAH today describes the recent statement by the foreign ministers of the Khomeyni, Al-Asad, and Al-Qadhdhafi regimes as the proclamation of the complete bankruptcy of its signatories. In his article, Sabri Hamadi, one of the paper's most prominent columnists, says that this statement contains nothing new, because an identity of viewpoints existed among the parties of this tripartite alliance prior to the Damascus meeting. Hamadi refers to what the Syrian and Libyan regimes mentioned in the statement about Iran supporting the Arab nation. Such affirmations are a naive and an exposed attempt to justify their blatant treasonous stand on the Iranian aggression against Iraq and their disgrace—ful role in supporting Iran and providing it with an Arab cover to pursue its war of aggression against Iraq and to conspire against Arab Gulf countries and the entire Arab nation.

Hamadi says the Arab citizen has the right to ask the Al-Asad and Al-Qadhdhafi regimes how and when Iran supported the Arab nation. He adds: If that were true, then what is the meaning of the arms cooperation and coordination between Khomeyni's Iran and the Zionist entity? Why does Islamic Iran continue to occupy the Arab islands that were occupied by the Shah's regime? Why does Rafsanjani threaten the Arab Gulf countries, and why does Iran aggress and conspire against these Arab Gulf countries?

Hamadi emphasizes that the primary objective of the Damascus meeting was to discuss how to secure military, economic, and political support for the Tehran regime, which has lost Khark Island for good. He adds that those who claim to be Arabs understand very well what the loss of Khark Island by their ally, the Khomeyni regime, means. This regime will not be able to pursue the war against Iraq following the destruction of its island.

Hamadi reiterates that the statement of the frustrated is not only a proclamation of their bankruptcy but also of their defeat.

CSO: 4400/239

ISRAEL

POLL SHOWS SHARP DECLINE FOR LIKUD, RISE FOR KAKH

TA271001 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 27 Aug 85 pp 1, 11

[Text] Some significant changes occurred in Israel's political map in August. The two large parties, the Likud and the Alignment, lost some of their strength to the small parties at both ends of the political spectrum.

On the right side of the map, the Likud registered a sharp decline. After maintaining a certain stability from May to July, the Likud's strength dropped from 30 to 24 Knesset seats. At the same time, KAKH doubled its strength. According to this forecast, if elections were held today, KAKH would win 11 Knesset seats (compared to 5 in July) and would become the third largest party in Israel, after the Alignment and the Likud.

There has also been a move toward extremism on the left side of the picture. In August, the Alignment dropped from 53 to 51 Knesset seats. In contrast, the Citizens Rights Movement [CRM] rose from 5 Knesset seats in July to 7 in August. Consequently, it seems that the CRM is becoming the main leftist party to gather—to a large extent—in its fold a significant part of the Israeli leftists who had in the past voted for other parties.

These are the findings of a public opinion poll commissioned by MA'ARIV and conducted by the Modi'in Ezrahi Research Institute directed by Dr Mikha'el Etgar.

An analysis of the total number of voters for the leftist parties (Alignment, CRM, Shinuy) and for the rightist parties (Likud, Tehiya, KAKH) shows that the size of each bloc remains stable. Therefore, the changes occurred within each bloc and did not stem from moves from one bloc to the other.

The question polled was: "Were Knesset elections held today, which party would you vote for"? The answers (quoted in Knesset seats) were as follows:

	Forecast Aug 85	Forecast Jul 85	Forecast Jun 85	Forecast May 85	Current Knesset
Alignment (Labor Party and Yahad)	51	53	53	53	40
Likud	24	30	29	30	41
National Religious Party	3	4	4	3	4
Morasha	1	1 plus	1 plus	l plus	2
Agudat Yisra'el	1	2	2	2 minus	2
SHAS	4	3	3	3 minus	4
Ometz		and any	-		
TAMI		<del></del>			
MAPAM	2 minus	2	2 plus	2	6
Tehiya	7.	7	8	9	5
CRM	7	5	4	4 minus	4
Shinuy	3	2 plus	3	2 plus	3
Hadash/Progressive List for Peace	6	6	6 plus	6 plus	6
KAKH/Kahane [as published]	11	5 minus	5	5 plus	1

The poll was conducted from 4 to 11 August on 1,275 persons representing the adult Jewish population of Israel, excluding inhabitants of kibbutzim, Judaea, Samaria, and the Golan Heights.

CSO: 4400/242

ISRAEL

POLL INDICATES REDUCED SUPPORT FOR WESTABANK SETTLEMENT

TA221209 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 22 Aug 85 p 3

[Text] The number of supporters of settlements in Judaea and Samaria is on the decrease but still exceeds the number of opponents of settlements. This is the conclusion of a nationwide public opinion poll conducted by the Pori Institute and commissioned by HA'ARETZ.

Ten years ago, in July 1975, 61.4 percent supported settlements and 22.3 percent opposed settlements in Judaea and Samaria. The percentage of supporters has now decreased to 46.5 percent and the percentage of opponents has risen to 33.9 percent.

Another 8.7 percent of all polled are prepared to support settlements only if they are carried out "according to the government's decision" and provided they are not established "in an area with dense Arab population."

Of those polled recently, 10.9 percent neither support nor oppose this.

An analysis of the date according to voting tendencies indicates that the number of people among Alignment voters who are opposed to settlements far exceeds the number of supporters (a ratio of 49.6 percent of opponents as compared to 29.6 of supporters), while the number of people among Likud voters who support settlements far exceeds the number of those opposed to them (a ratio of 70.9 percent in favor as compared to 13.3 percent opposed).

The poll encompassed a representative sample of 1,200 men and women throughout the country who were personally interviewed.

CSO: 4400/242

ISRAEL

# IDF PLANNING CHIEF INTERVIEWED

Tel Aviv BAMAHANE in Hebrew 14 Aug 85 pp 9-11,48

[General Avihu Ben-Nun interviewed by Tami Ze'evi; place and date unspecified]

[Text] One of the most sensitive and complicated missions in the IDF was assigned 3 months ago to Avihu Ben-Nun, one of the builders of the Air Force's strategy. With this new assignment Gen Ben-Nun completed 28 years' service in the IDF. A chapter of a life and a personality which the bare facts describe: in Israel's wars he made a contribution as a fighter pilot and leader, a squadron commander, chief of Air Force operations, base commander, chief air squadron (commander), chief of staff and deputy commander of the Air Force.

Avihu Ben-Nun (father of five, born in Qiryat Motzkin) has a degree in general science, completed with excellence the defense college of the American Air Force, participated in an advanced management course at Harvard University, and recently studied business administration for a Master's degree at Tel Aviv University.

In May of this year he was appointed chief of planning for the IDF. Despite his talents and experience his future path will not be strewn with roses. The burden of his mission arises out of particular special circumstances—economic necessities, changing conditions in the region, political considerations, and an arms race. In other words, a continuous need to build and organize the IDF according to circumstantial needs and tasks, some of them unforeseen. The methods of fulfilling this need will determine the degree of success of the overriding mission of the planning branch: to ensure national security. Here, let us pause for a moment. A quote, more than a description or explanation, will tell us something about the man who bears this mission:

"National security," says Avihu Ben-Nun, " is a lofty concept. You want it in my own words? I could, perhaps, define national security as the means by which we serve and ensure the basic values of the people of Israel in the state of Israel. The highest priority among these basic-national values is life itself. National security serves life,

continuing security, the particular security of every Israeli citizen."

Yet, despite the personal aspects of the objective danger zone, it is likely that other interests will intervene which will influence the decision-making process. For example, the debate on oversight and review of the military apparatus is sharpening, particularly in the area of planning activity. As is known, the planning branch is part of both the General Staff and the Defense Ministry. Does this union contribute to the formation of normal rules of checks and balances between the civilian and military sectors? The question is open. But the fact is that the chief of planning must at times serve two masters, and coordinate between them. Another given: in the final analysis, the chief of the planning branch reports to the military, whose head determines his future, among other things. The question therefore arises whether it is desirable--in the spirit of the recommendations made by the Agranat Commission--to establish a civilian advisory body on security problems which will also oversee the military apparatus. General Ben-Nun is resolute in his belief that at this time, an advisory and supervisory civilian body such as a national security council is unnecessary. In the planning branch, strategic decisions take a long time before they are approved, after clarification, eliciting several opinions, war games -- the means by which a variety of views and opposing viewpoints are expressed. Nonetheless, he explains, it is understood that the Defense Minister, the senior defense policymaker, can appoint advisors. There is no practical obstacle to this, but the advantage of using military men in planning is their direct and up-to-date knowledge of the facts. This knowledge helps in making the crucial distinction between immediate judgments and long-range guiding principles.

On the application of this distinction, expressed in the upcoming annual organization plan and the long-range plan, here is the first interview with the head of the planning branch since his appointment.

[Question] General Ben-Nun, you have made an interesting change in realizing your own experience. In the Air Force you determined and planned strategy based in no small measure on personal operational experience. As is known, in an air battle, despite a clear and fixed plan an unexpected factor always intervenes. Can one assume that there is now a great difference in the way you work?

[Answer] In planning for the army--particularly long-range planning--there is a greater number of variables than there is in planning an air battle. The variable factors are greater even than the number of variables in an air battle with many participants, in which there are ground-to-air missiles as well as enemy planes from two directions simultaneously and other variables. Army planning also includes facts about the enemy over which we have no control and about which there is much uncertainty. In addition, there are other compelling factors which influence planning: financial uncertainty, manpower,

developments in the economy, policy decisions—and other similar factors, some unexpected. Therefore, planning, even if it is anchored in a clear, fundamental and unequivocal strategy, must constantly take into account many variables, political, social and, of course, technological. This makes planning a complicated mission, even though it is based and conditioned on guiding principles.

[Question] Practically speaking, how does one take into account such a dominant factor as the unexpected?

[Answer] That is what is known as planning under uncertain conditions (if there's a place to learn that, it's in the army). It is accomplished by setting down guiding principles in advance; by examining these principles in comparison with the expected threats (these too are based on special guiding principles); and also, through operations research, war games symposia, etc. At the end, a number of alternatives emerge and from these the best method of operation is chosen and determined. It is a long and drawn-out process which includes examining the views of "interested" and un-"interested" bodies. The purpose of this process: to get a draft, which is then approved by the most senior political and military ranks.

[Question] Is this feedback and variety of views intended to prevent an early consensus in the process of evaluating a situation, planning and determining operating methods?

[Answer] Review and cross-checking exist in nearly all fields. Some people argue that occasionally the process becomes cumbersome and unable to produce optimal planning. Recently the view was expressed that the mission of planning for the future of the army should be delegated to an outside body. Within the army, it was said, they deal with everyday matters and there really is no opportunity for planning ahead. I would agree with this view if this outside body were given the same degree of responsibility that the military planners have. In reality (and I am new at this, so I can't be accused of having a prior fixed opinion on the subject), I have no doubt that the military is the proper place for formulating plans that are not divorced from reality, with all the required responsibility, in order to arrive at crucial decisions regarding the future.

[Question] What are your preliminary goals in planning and organizing the IDF?

[Answer] At the moment my priorities are: to formulate a multi-year, long-range plan for the next decade, while solving the continuing problems of 1985, problems which crop up periodically, such as the most recent cut in the defense budget. Second, to set up a plan for 1986, soon to be upon us, which will be drawn from the multi-year plan. At the moment, we are preparing a new multi-year plan, since the errors and mistakes deriving from the Lebanon war have made the previously existing plans outdated. This is the first and most urgent mission facing the

planning branch.

[Question] Could you give us a description of that master plan? Has consideration been given in it to views opposite to those of the prevailing strategic concept? For example, the possibility of halting continuing and operative hostility from Arab states—and organizing the order of battle accordingly?

[Answer] I cannot yet give a general description. I can say that the master plan is spread out over ten years, up to 1995. It includes, among other things, an examination of the future battlefield and an examination of the strategic situation and the degree of threat, as they are likely to evolve in the next decade. The plan also includes possible organization for positive developments, such as contacts with Jordan, the continuation of the peace process with Egypt and possible contacts with other countries. We look at a range of alternatives which will lead eventually to a plan for building the IDF; a plan which will withstand financial pressures and manpower cutbacks while at the same time provide a response to existing or possible threats. As a rule, the plan's principles are based on the primary mission facing the IDF: strengthening deterrence and preventing war. This mission does not belong solely to the military apparatus, but is a joint national goal.

Deterrence is based on the strength and image of the IDF, which must be guarded unceasingly. In this context, it must be remembered that general attacks in the media on the security apparatus and public debates on cuts in the defense budget, etc., do not contribute to the deterrence image. Other factors affecting the degree of deterrence, no less important, must also be considered—for example, national strength and unity, sensitivity to casualties, hostages and MIAs, the ability to make difficult decisions, etc. Some of those who make public complaints about the security apparatus do not sufficiently take into account the need for deterrence, with all that that entails.

[Question] You spoke of the pressure to reduce manpower. An impression exists that the cutbacks were carried out in the higher and skilled ranks, while leaving rearguard units and commands untouched.

[Answer] I have not surveyed the percentage of fat in the various commands. The cuts which we have been making intensively since 1984 and even earlier cover the entire army and not just combat units, as it has been portrayed in the press. There are cuts in combat units, just as there are cuts in rearguard units, in services and commands, and also in senior and mid-level ranks and NCOs. There is no imbalance which requires greater cuts in one area. The main problem is that the pressures for immediate cuts and comprehensive organizational changes which will lead to a better structure of the order of battle cannot be made all at once and produce returns at the same time. If during one year we were forced to make budget cuts totalling millions of dollars, it

is impossible at the same time to institute organizational changes which will reflect the new budget. Thus we have been forced to reduce our standard of living (food, gas or services), cut back on hours of training, flight hours, engine hours. We also cut back on vehicles (in spite of the photos of the parking lot next to the Qirya).

We were forced to cut back in all areas, and it is possible that if the 1986 budget looks anything like the 1985 one, we may have to make still more drastic cuts in order not to affect our ammunition stocks. In other words, we will have to cut back in commands, units and also in many other things we need.

[Question] Yet, despite the crunch, many IDF units are located in urban areas, with monthly rentals. Isn't there any alternative housing?

[Answer] The solution to the rental problem is twofold: units which do not have to be in the area will be moved from the Qiryah in Tel Aviv to other areas such as Tel Hashomer, Zerifin and other bases. Also, an additional branch building will be completed.

[Question] Which is a glaring example of erection...

[Answer] The building going up will enable us to improve the organization of the General Staff units, to eliminate many illegal and temporary buildings, to reduce rentals, and to save money.

[Question] Has the planning branch completed a new master plan for the network of bases?

[Answer] Changes arising from the withdrawal from Lebanon were made in the planning of the deployment of the IDF. One of the important chapters in the multi-year plan deals with deployment and infrastructure. The overall goal is to stop moving around so much (this refers to land forces) and to get settled in more organized bases, with proper infrastructure, which will make it possible to place more of an emphasis on training and instruction.

[Question] Can one infer from these comments your views on the question of quality versus quantity? Perhaps we should concentrate on developing qualitatively and improving our military potential, which doesn't necessarily result from massive numbers.

[Answer] We should not talk in cliches. The saying "quality versus quantity" is always correct. It's one of those things you can't disagree with. Yet one cannot, overnight, change quantity into quality. The benefit from eliminating existing forces known as "the masses" will be very small (unless we sell them). Thus, this is not the easy way to strengthen quality.

There is no doubt that in the process of planning for several years, quality (which will of necessity come at the expense of quantity because of the lack of resources) will play an increasing role in the IDF's order of battle. I don't want to go into details. Generally speaking, the goal of including qualitative factors, whether by improving existing tools or by adding tools or means which will make possible more precise and more efficient firepower, is part of the long-range plan which will be implemented according to needs and possibilities.

[Question] Strength in quality of various kinds (sophisticated weapons, electronic warfare, proficiency, etc.) can, in your opinion, compensate for strategic depth or provide a correct argument for giving up territories?

[Answer] In theory, one can talk about weapons versus territories, but I don't think that we are able, given the strategic situation of Israel, to talk about weaponry as a substitute for territories. We don't control territories which we can give up without fear, doubts or risks and put up in their place electronic means of one kind or another which will compensate for depth. I don't know of any electronic means which can substitute for strategic territory. In the final analysis, even the operation of electronic weaponry against a threatening force will not be from the United States but from territory under our control.

[Question] So you don't accept the model of the new fighter which a senior retired intelligence officer is suggesting to the IDF? I'm referring to the moshav resident (female) who launches a missile and forces the enemy to retreat.

[Answer] As a rule, I like female moshav residents, but I don't accept the model of one as an answer to the security needs of Israel. I still see the answer to Israel's security needs in seasoned soldiers, in organized groups, in the air force and the navy. They must provide continuing security and deterrence. That female moshav resident may, in an emergency, succeed in stopping someone for an hour or two, but can in no way deter the enemy from attack. Also, our task is not just to prevail after the outbreak of war but first and foremost to maintain a situation of relative calm, flowing out of our deterrence ability and not from anything else.

[Question] All this, without slighting her dignity?

[Answer] Her dignity is intact, and if she can successfully assist us, we will be very happy. Yet, anyone who talks about those young girls on the moshav who will operate a computer and immediately and with precision launch a missile at every Syrian tank which may attempt to cross the Golan Heights—maybe he's talking about the years 2500-3000.

[Question] Let's return to 1985. Most of the definitions of the concept of national security are simplistic and deal more with its target rather than its essence. Can you flesh out this concept? What is, in your view, the national security equation of Israel today?

[Answer] "National security equation" is a lofty phrase.

[Question] In your own words.

[Answer] In my own view, the concept "national security" is based on the question of what is its objective, what does it serve. I can, perhaps, define national security as serving and ensuring the basic values of the people of Israel in the state of Israel. At the top of the list of priorities of these basic-national values, I would put life itself; national security serves life, continuing security, personal security for every Israeli citizen; security of our transportation routes and everyday life. A second value of national security: protecting the political framework, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state of Israel. Third, the intangible factors of the state: democracy, freedom, liberty; basic principles which are a condition for the quality of life which a sovereign state should provide its citizens.

[Question] And a failure of one of these links will result in the breakdown of national security as a whole?

[Answer] In my opinion, national security must provide for these three values, at the very least. The task of the security apparatus is to guarantee the national security of the state, but it can't do it alone. Protecting democracy and liberty is not the sole responsibility of the security apparatus. It can create the proper environment by ensuring relative quiet, creating conditions that do not lead to the unravelling of democracy, and by guarding collective security by guarding the nation. Yet, the existence of national security also depends on the nature of the relations among other factors in our national existence: education, religion and state, and politics.

[Question] That's an interesting Israeli perspective: a strong military contributes to the strengthening of democracy.

[Answer] That's right.

[Question] And in spite of this relationship, perhaps we should take an example from Western democracies and adopt the policy whereby it is preferable that the military not be the sole factor deciding on military issues and planning; this in line with the saying that "it is dangerous to leave policy to the generals."

[Answer] We already spoke about the former. As for the latter, I don't think it's dangerous to leave policy only to the generals. I would go

even further: I'm not sure about "generals" but I am sure about "alufim" [generals or champions].

[Question] By the way, General Bin-Nun, does the expression "after hours" mean anything to you? Have you been to any shows recently?

[Answer] This week I attended the opening performance of the NAHAL choir.

[Question] How was it?

[Answer] I was very pleased to see the new NAHAL choir, but I was very disappointed by its repertoire. There were many songs, but not one "message." I heard about "rosh qatan" and how nice it is to volunteer for military choirs; how nice it is to get passes; all the new songs in the NAHAL repertoire. It was very nice, cheerful, and entertaining. But the only time there was a "message" was when the youngsters on stage sang some of the "old" NAHAL choir songs. You could say that I'm a member of a generation whose time has passed. But in my view, without education for values, without recognition and moral understanding of the purpose of our presence here, there is no justification for what we are doing in this state.

[Question] This recognition you mention is in your opinion obligatory in every situation and at all times?

[Answer] The present situation requires a new approach and unusual solutions in order to withstand the pressures we are under. I believe that if we all work using the principle "try to find the opportunity in every difficulty, rather than difficulty in every opportunity," we will more easily accomplish our national goals.

CSO: 4423/71

**ISRAEL** 

## BRIEFS

ARGENTINE PRESIDENT INVITED--Prime Minister Shim on Peres has invited Argentine President Raul Alfonsin to visit Israel. The invitation was delivered by Knesset Member 'Uzi Bar'am, now in Argentina. Bar'am asked Alfonsin not to allow the opening of a PLO office in Buenos Aires, and to urge the Argentine Government to denounce the equation of Zionism with racism. [Text] [Jerusalem Domestic Service in English 0400 GMT 22 Aug 85]

GUSH EMUNIM ORGANIZING—The Gush Emunim organization is planning processions in Nabulus during the Simhat Torah [Rejoicing of the Law on 7 October] festival and is stepping up aid for the purchase of houses from Arabs in Hebron and the Muslim quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem. This is stated in a circular sent out to members of the Gush Emunim Secretariat. It is expected that just before Simhat Torah Gush Emunim will disclose some of its purchases of Arab property in Nabulus. [Text] [Jerusalem Domestic Service in English 0400 GMT 26 Aug 85]

TRADE BALANCE IMPROVES—Israel registered a strong improvement in its balance of payments in the first quarter of the year, three months before the government introduced its economic emergency plan, figures released yesterday by the Central Bureau of Statistics showed. During the first three months of the year the excess of imports over exports of goods and services, excluding military imports, totalled \$627 million, compared to \$790 million, in the same period in 1984. This represented a 20.7 percent decrease in the size of the gap. Due to a strong increase in military imports, which totalled \$569 million in January—March, the total excess of imports over exports totalled \$1.196 billion, compared to \$1.140 billion last year. But military imports are not controlled by economic factors and are accompanied by a parallel increase in foreign—aid. [Excerpt] [Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 23 Aug 85 p 2] [Report by economic correspondent Avi Temkin]

TRADE WITH LEBANON--Over the past year the scope of trade between Israel and Lebanon amounted to \$63 million, compared to \$100 million during the second year of the Lebanese war. Out of that sum, Lebanon

bought Israeli goods worth \$11 million. Over the past 3 months, since the completion of the IDF's withdrawal from Lebanon, the scope of trade between the two countries has dropped to a mere \$2 million. The traffic of people between the two countries also dropped in the last 3 months, to a mere 12,000 people. [Text] [Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 9 Aug 85 p 3]

BELIZE HONORARY CONSUL-Belize has appointed businessman Shatul Eisenberg as its honorary consul in Israel. Israel and Belize established diplomatic relations last year, and Israel has appointed a non-resident ambassador in that country, but Belize has only a few representations throughout the world. [Summary] [Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1321 GMT 22 Aug 85]

MADRID'S TIES WITH ISRAEL--Spain will establish diplomatic relations with Israel before the end of the present legislative term. This is what Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs Francisco Fernandez Ordonez said in statements to a radio station. Spain's entry into the EEC, the Spanish foreign minister said, has made such a decision inevitable before the next general elections. Francisco Fernandez Ordonez said that the date for the establishment of relations between Spain and Israel had still not been set, but advantage has to be taken of a juncture at which it will contribute to the promotion of peace in the Middle East, where, in his view, control has been lost of the territory, the population, and everything else. In his statements, he said that he is firmly determined to renegotiate the U.S. military presence in Spain, and announced that in October, a U.S. Government delegation will arrive in Madrid to tackle the question. Membership in the Atlantic alliance, the foreign minister concluded, gives a new dimension to Spain's role in the defense of the West. [Text] [Madrid in Spanish to Europe 1800 GMT 21 Aug 85]

SPANISH RELATIONS—The announcement by the Spanish foreign minister that the Spanish Government will establish relations with Israel by the end of its term next fall represents a retreat from earlier promises made by Spain that it would establish relations with Israel before it joins the EEC in January 1986. Foreign Minister Yitzhaq Shamir last night stated that Israel has not received any official notification from Spain. He added that there was nothing new in Spain's announcement since it has frequently announced its intention to set up relations with Israel but has never specified when that would take place. Shamir noted that the latest announcement "does not satisfy us. We think that the time has come to establish ordinary and normal relations between us and Spain." [Excerpt] [Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 23 Aug 85] [Report by the political correspondent]

CSO: 4400/242

**JORDAN** 

# PARLIAMENTARIAN INTERVIEWED ON ISLAMIC CURRENT

Kuwait AL-MUJTAMA' in Arabic 4 Jun 85 pp 22-24

[Interview with Dr Ahmad al-Kawfahi, member of parliament: "When Our Peoples Enjoy Party Freedoms, the Islamic Program Triumphs and Other Programs Fall; The Victory of the Islamists in the Election Gives Decisive Proof That the People Want Rule by Islam Only"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Dr Ahmad al-Kawfahi, one of the illustrious names in the field of the Islamic Call in fraternal Jordan, has toured most Jordanian cities as a preacher and lecturer. His activities are almost limited to the Call after the intervention of the Jordanian security services that prevented university students from benefiting from his lectures when he was teaching in al-Yarmuk University. Dr al-Kawfahi has become famous outside Jordansince he was elected to the Jordanian parliament by a decisive majority to represent the city of Irbid in the Jordanian House of Representatives.

AL-MUJTAMA' is pleased to present to its dear readers an interview with Dr al-Kawfahi that clarifies the role of the Islamists in the Jordanian parliament and in society.

[Question] The by-elections which took place in fraternal Jordan at the beginning of 1984 have drawn the attention of Arab and international information media to the phenomenon of the successes of the Islamists by a decisive majority. How do you analyse the results of those elections.

[Answer] The by-elections took place in order to fill eight seats that had become vacant because of death. These seats were distributed as follows: One seat for the Muslims in each of Amman, Irbid, al-Tufaylah and al-Karak, two seats in al-Salt, and one seat for the Christians in each of al-Salt and al-Karak. These elections had Islamic features that portend good tidings, and they may be summarised by the following points:

The government took a neutral stand permitting all political and ideological tendencies to contest the elections, thus making the voting on ideas, principles and political stances a primary concern especially in heavily populated areas like Amman, the capital, and the city of Irbid. The victory of the Islamists gives decisive proof that the people want rule by Islam only.

2- The candidates of the Islamic trend won by a tremendous majority of votes, reaching double [the votes of their opponents] in heavily populated areas like Amman, which contains approximately three-fifths of the population, and Irbid with one-fifth. Engineer Layth Shubaylat won in Amman, receiving more than 18,000 votes while his opponent received approximately 9,000 votes only. In Irbid, Dr Ahmad al-Kufahi received approximately 23,000 votes while his opponent received less than 13,000 votes.

Dr 'Abdallah al-'Ukaylah won in al-Tafilah, receiving more than 5,000 votes while his opponent received approximately 3,000 votes.

The single area where the candidate of the Islamic trend did not win is the al-Karak area, which contains approximately one-tenth of the population only. The tribal factor in it, in contradistinction to other areas, had a clear role in determining the winner. In spite of this, the winner had a majority of approximately 200 votes only over the candidate of the Islamic trend.

3- Because of the popularity of the Islamic trend, many cadidates attempted to ride the Islamic wave, but the people acted with discernment and said no, choosing the Islamic trend. Thus if the will of the peoples of the Islamic world were to be respected --which is what democracy calls for-- and translated into reality, then our bitter reality would have been changed and we would be transported to the towering many-branched tree of Islam to save humanity from its destructive misfortunes.

[Question] What is the number of the representatives of the Islamic trend, and how do they operate in the assembly?

[Answer] The committed assembly members of the Islamic trend do not exceed 10 in number, but the Islamic trend cooperates with everyone with whom it finds common ground on particulars, no matter how few, and this does not at all mean abandoning or disregarding some fundemental causes. In spite of its small size, the Islamic trend has been able to create an effective presence for itself (two members at least) in all the permanent and temporary committees of the assembly, while its representatives have gained half the decreed seats in half the permanent assembly committees and the chairmanship of one temporary committee.

The Muslim is mild, faithful, tolerant, positive, realistic, and objective in debate and in considering a problem. He recognizes kindness in others and responds to transgressors according to the laws of Islam. I can say that the representatives of the Islamic trend enjoy a measure of love and appreciation from others in recognition of their stance. The hope is that they [the others] will be a bulwark for them, and we should not fail to mention with appreciation the Islamic sentiment which many of my colleagues possess.

[Question] Considering its modest size, what role does the Islamic trend play?

[Answer] For the sake of brevity, our role in the assembly may be summarized by the following points:

- 1- The attempt to Islamize the laws of the country through four manifestations:
- a) Commitment to the principle of rejecting every article, clause or item that conflicts with the shari'ah of God Almighty, and we are calling for this in the committees. If our colleagues concur, then that is to their credit. We will otherwise continue to raise it in the assembly, and in any case our duty is to inform and to plead.
- b) To establish shari'ah rule as firmly as possible by referring disputed shari'ah matters to the consultative assembly and then abiding by its decision and disallowing debates on clear shari'ah matters, obliging the executive body to abide by them instead.
- c) The concentration on forbidding some banned activities like dealing in usury, which by God's grace we have succeeded in forbidding, and we have presented the government with legitimate solutions and replacements, but it has not implemented the decree yet. We hope that it will begin to implement the decree and to enforce the rule of God Almighty. There is also the consumption of alcohol which we hope will be catagorically forbidden during the next session. We are also concentrating on the necessity of purifying the information media, that they should abide by the belief of the country and its morals.
- d) The concentration on some shari'ah obligations in order to ratify them, and on demanding the re-formulation of school programs in order to graduate believing generations, to show consideration to the teacher and to propagate an atmosphere for the growth of virtue through the cooperation of the ministries and responsible organs. This is in addition to reforming and arabising university teaching, attempting to pass a law for collecting the zakat [alms tax] to replace the voluntary zakat fund, and other such sensitive subjects.
- 2- The presentation of the draft of the "where did you get this" law and striving to make it succeed, as al-Faruqi, may God be pleased with him, had enforced it on the greatest of all generations, and if successful, we call for it to be enforced on the strong before the weak.
- 3- To strive to place the Palestine problem in its correct framework, being a problem of belief and principle that is not subject to division or bargaining on the part of anyone, without exceptions. Its liberation will not come about except by educating the nation to believe, to adopt the jihad [holy war] and to love martyrdom.
- 4- To set out to adopt the problems of the citizens and do what is possible to solve them.

[Question] What are your most outstanding political positions in the assembly?

[Answer] Our situation on political positions is one of two things:

The first: That the majority allies itself with our opinion.

The second: That the majority agrees with our opinion.

Regarding the first position:

1- Our position on the Palestine problem, inasmuch as we demanded the adoption of the previously mentioned Islamic solution and the rejection of solutions that dispose of the problem by envisaging co-existence with the Jews and conceding to them the legitimacy of usurping lands in Palestine before 1917. We consider all of Palestine to be a blessed land that can only be Islamic, and sooner or later, it will go back to being that. Our hearts were saddened when, through God's mercy, the truth of our position was not apparent to our colleagues.

2- Our position regarding the restoration of relations with Egypt, which, as we demanded, should serve to rescue her from the Jewish-American predicament of Camp David in order for Egypt to assume her leading role in the legions for the liberation of all Palestine, and we warned that the restoration of relations should not become an entanglement for others.

In the situation where the majority shares our opinion:

1- The problem of general freedoms:

We took the initiative to raise this problem, and we contacted several prisoners and examined their conditions. It became evident to us that some of them are victims of injustice whose freedoms have been have been encroached upon. In coordination with our colleagues, we succeeded in turning this case into a public one that led to convening a special session between the assembly and the government in which we spoke about responsible freedom that is a symbol of the humanity of man and his self respect, and that is an innate right which the state has to preserve and defend, as an encraochemnt upon the freedom of the citizen is a violation of the constitution. We demanded an increase in the powers of the judiciary, and some of us demanded party freedoms because justice becomes evident and the bats of darkness become visible in an atmosphere of freedom. The assembly also made a decision to form a parliamentary committee to follow security matters, but for one reason or another, it has not been formed yet.

There has also been another cursory reexamination of the matter of general freedoms in a secret session, and this time we were surprised that we and those who were with us did not add up to 10 [members], and something took place which made us withdraw that session.

2- Blessing the effectiveness of the Islamic struggle in southern Lebanon. We demanded taking a lesson from it in the struggle against the Jews, and we made it clear that far from being a national concept that is independent of belief, as claimed by the information media, it is a wonderful holy resistance as is proven by its slogans and by its point of departure from the mosques.

[Question] The question raised by your presentation is: How do you view the multi-party system?

[Answer] In Islam, the state is ideological, with sovereignty in it belonging to God Almighty. The majority of Muslims is one nation that should be governed by one caliph deputizing for the Prophet of God, may God bless him and grant him salvation, in the guardianship over matters of religion and in the conduct of the matters of this world, drawing his authority from the nation that freely declared its fealty to him, provided he abides by the Koran and the Sunnah. From this point of departure, we say that the party that has a program originating from the Islamic idea is an acceptable party, but were it to deviate in its program from the Islamic idea, then it is considered to be a corrupt deviant. This is what is proper, but we are observing an age where the system of state is not Islamic, where the shari'ah is dismissed and the missionaries of Islam are being harrased and persecuted. For this reason, I consider that giving the opportunity to all parties to present their programs will be in the interest of the nation and the Islamic trend inasmuch as relevant debate is liable to reveal the prevarications of the un-Islamic parties and to expose their plans. There will also be an opportunity for them or for some of their members to give up their false beliefs. Have you not noticed how the communists embraced Islam when fate brought them together with the Islamists in the prison dungeons of a country whose pharaoh was distinguished for his mistreatment of Islamists?

[Question] The Islamists are accused of giving priority to the Afghanistan problem over others, especially over the Palestine problem. What is your response? And how do you view the role of the Islamists in the Palestine problem?

[Answer] The Muslims are a single nation, and as a matter of principle, and without exception, the Palestine problem is the most important problem for Muslims, even from the point of view of the Afghanis themselves, and this was expressed by 'Abd-Rabb-al-Rasul Sayyaf, the chairman of the Union of Afghani Mujahidin, when he said that Palestine is dearer to them than Afghanistan.

How could it be otherwise, it being what the Koran designated as the blessed, holy land by which God Almighty swore before he swore by the resplendent mountain and by Mecca?

The Islamists entered Palestine as freedom fighters and they taught the Jews harsh lessons. They sought to provide arms with their wealth, but all doors were closed in their faces and moreover, they were taken from the field of battle to the depths of prisons. They did not hesitate for a single instant to bear arms for the liberation of the land of the midnight ascension [Jerusalem] and they seize every available opportunity for that, be it in their own name or working under other banners. Today the Islamists are alone in their steadfast hope for liberation after all (regimes and organizations) have deserted the concept of inculcating belief as a basis for jihad, and have moreover begun to dally behind solutions that dispose of the problem which neither God Almighty, nor his prophet, may God bless him and grant him salvation, nor the interest of the believers can tolerate.

[Question] Since you mentioned being sensitive to the problems of the citizen, and on the occasion of your visit to Kuwait, I would like to present this problem for you consideration:

As you know, there is a very big Jordanian community in Kuwait and it has many problems. One of the most important, perhaps, is what it endures in conducting its business with the Jordanian Embassy. There has been a lot of talk about the crowding, the long waiting periods and severe discomforts resulting from this problem. To what extent has this problem been part of your activities?

[Answer] A short while ago, and in the light of a previous visit to Kuwait and meetings with some citizens and responsible officials in the embassy, the eminent deputy, Professor Yusuf al-'Azam wrote to his excellency the prime minister explaining everything that you mentioned in your question, with some suggestions for removing these discomforts. I was careful to reassure myself about this problem and I took the opportunity of my presence in Kuwait to visit the Jordanian Embassy where I personally observed the positive impact of the visit of Professor Yusuf al-'Azam. I also observed the discomforts and found them to be shared by the petitioning citizen brothers and those working in the embassy.

I also met with some of my brother citizens and noted my observations which, God willing, I shall transmit to the responsible officials. Together with Professor Yusuf al-'Azam, I shall, God willing, also continue to follow up this matter until it ends satisfactorily, and I can summarize the ways of removing these discomforts by the following:

- 1- Separating the embassy from the consular building.
- 2- Providing for the petitioners an air-conditioned hall that provides a partition between males and females.
- 3- Increasing the number of employees so as to correspond to the number of petitioners.
- 4- Simplifying procedures in everything that is related to the needs of the petitioners.
- 5- Improving conditions of employment for embassy employees to encourage them to be forthcoming and to serve the public good.

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**JORDAN** 

MINISTER RELEASES PAPER ON AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS, PLANS

Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 15, 16 Jul 85

[Article by Yahya al-Juju: "Announcement of the Agricultural Situation Document by the Minister of Agriculture at a Press Conference; The Effort To Stop the Fragmentation and Encourage the Consolidation of Agricultural Land"]

[15 Jul 85 p 11]

[Text] Eng Ahmad Dikhqan, minister of agriculture, stated "The agricultural issue in Jordan is to be considered foremost of those which are of concern to all citizens and a review and discussion of agricultural policy is necessary and is to be considered in itself a healthy phenomenon which shows interaction between citizens and the authorities. A discussion of agricultural policy or agricultural development issues is a thorny multifaceted one, since the agricultural sector of the Jordanian economy is one in which a large group of factors interact, including land, water, production accessories, manpower and agencies and their services, and therefore it is not at all easy to propound rapid prescriptions to cure the agricultural sector and free it from its pains. However, we will work with all possible effort to review these problems.

"The recommendation of possible methods for solving them and consequently formulating constant goals will be our guide for striving toward agricultural development."

In the press conference, which was held yesterday on the occasion of the submission of the document on the agricultural situation and a suggested conception of agricultural policy, Eng Dikhqan stated "Before going into the issue of agricultural policy it has been necessary to praise Jordanian individual initiative, which has managed, under the aegis of the Ministry of Agriculture and other agricultural agencies, to give Jordanian agricultural production a large forward push, since we have gone beyond the stage of self-sufficiency in the production of specific crops, have started exporting some of them and are now trying to solve the problem of the surplus in them, for instance in poultry and vegetables. However, there still are basic crops in which we are still suffering from a shortage and insufficiency for local

consumption, and which consequently we import, such as animal meat, wheat and milk.

"We must point out that the government still is observing, and will continue to observe, progress in agricultural development through successive development plans. In the course of this the government has sought to offer the agricultural services that are available to farmers, for instance research, guidance, plant care, animal health, improved seeds and forest and fruit seedlings. In addition, the government has continued to support the services of loans to farmers, since they are given access to investment loans on reasonable terms and interest, which to a large extent has helped stimulate the agricultural sector. The government has also sought to support farmers by various means, including buying seeds at encouragement prices, providing irrigation water, buying surplus crops, exempting production accessories from customs duties and providing agricultural areas with infrastructure, such as irrigation and road projects, classification centers, power and social services.

"Therefore it is a matter of the utmost importance to pause to consider this major sector of the Jordanian economic system, review its accounts and try to set out guidance for its future course.

"Proceeding from this premise, the Ministry of Agriculture has prepared a study on the agricultural sector and a suggested conception of agricultural policy in Jordan.

"I am happy to review with you the contents of this paper which you have at hand. It consists of four chapters. The first and second chapters are concerned with a study and analysis of the facts and problems of the agricultural sector from the standpoint of agricultural resources, production, marketing, manpower and agricultural management. The second and third chapters are concerned with setting out a suggested conception of the goals of agricultural policy and means for carrying it out. The goals of this policy have been defined as follows:

- "1. Preserving agricultural resources in the form of land, water and manpower as sources of agricultural production, halting their deterioration and organizing their uses.
- "2. Increasing and regulating production in a manner fulfilling the needs of local consumption, foreign markets and local food industries.
- "3. Guaranteeing a minimum production of strategic, basic commodities of importance to self-sufficiency in food and attempting to realize self-sufficiency in other commodities.
- "4. Halting the fragmentation of farmland and encouraging the consolidation of land in a manner serving the optimum uses of the land.
- "5. Supporting and developing agricultural services, including research, guidance, care, animal health and agricultural machinery.

"6. Preparing suitable circumstances for the private sector and encouraging it by all means of investment in the agricultural sector.

"7. Raising the agricultural producers' standard of living through the attainment of a feasible economic yield.

"Chapter four is concerned with the presentation of a group of solutions and recommendations for the problems of the agricultural sector. When the ministry presents this suggested conception of the agricultural sector, that is so we may proceed to see that a base for a takeoff will be formed in the crystallization of an integrated agricultural policy which countries rely on, which is the development and advancement of the agricultural sector."

The document on the agricultural situation contains the following:

The Facts of the Agricultural Situation

Jordan's area totals about 92.6 million donums, of which arable land accounts for about 6.1 million donums, broken down as follows:

4.3 million donums of unirrigated arable land, about 517,000 donums of irrigated land and 1.3 million donums of land registered as forests. These figures do not include pasture land lying in areas where the rainfall is less than 200 millimeters. The kingdom's territory can be categorized, in accordance with the rainfall rates, as follows:

The desert region, whose area comes to 73.2 million donums, where the annual rainfall ranges from 50 to 100 millimeters.

The arid region, whose area comes to 11.4 million donums, where the rainfall rates are from 100 to 200 millimeters.

The marginal (peripheral) region, whose area comes to 3.94 million donums, where the rainfall rates range from 200 to 300 millimeters and on which grain crops, fruit trees and unirrigated vegetables are planted.

The semi-arid region, whose area comes to 3.04 million donums and where the rainfall rate is between 300 and 500 millimeters.

The semi-tropical region which comes to 989,000 donums in area, where the rainfall rate exceeds 500.

Area and Production

A. Plant resources. The total average unirrigated regions cultivated with various plant crops in the years 1981-82 to 1983-84 come to about 1,790,091 donums. The areas of the irrigated regions came to 516,878 donums for the same period. These regions are broken down in the following manner:

Field crops, in which the average farmed area comes to 1,222,601 donums of unirrigaged lands and 4,698 donums of irrigated land and the rate of production during the 1982-84 period came to 80,959 tons a year.

Vegetables. The rate of production of various vegetables came to about 1 million tons for the same period, the production of most of which was surplus to the needs of local consumption, where the surplus is exported to foreign markets. Tomatoes, zucchini, eggplant and cucumbers head this list.

It is also observed that there is an ongoing deficit in the production of potatoes and onions and there is a deficit in the production of watermelons and canteloup some years.

Fruit trees: the areas farmed up to 1984 came to 394,886 unirrigated and 89,750 irrigated donums and their avverage annual production came to 199,934 tons.

Tobacco: the average area farmed with tobacco came to 70,167 donums a year and the average annual production was about 4,098 tons, while the country's needs come to about 3,500 tons. Annually, 1,500 tons of foreign tobacco are imported to improve the quality of the cigarettes produced locally.

Forest trees: the area of forested land in Jordan comes to 1.3 million donums, of which 300,000 donums are areas of man-made forests and 310,000 donums are natural government forests.

Natural pastures: arid regions where the average annual rainfall ranges from  $100\ \text{to}\ 200\ \text{millimeters},\ 11.4\ \text{million}$  donums in area, are considered natural pastures.

#### Livestock Resources

Animal meat: the number of sheep in Jordan come to about 1.5 million, of which 1 million are mutton and half a million are lambs.

Poultry and white table meat: the number of meat chicken farms come to 1,233, producing from 50,000 to 54,000 tons of meat a year. These meet the country's needs, approximately.

The number of egg-laying chicken farms is 161, producing 475 million eggs a year. This production is surplus to the country's need by about 100 million eggs, which are disposed of on foreign markets.

Milk and dairy products: Jordan's milk production is estimated at 540,000 tons of liquid milk, while about 7,500 tons of dry milk, 7,016 tons of cheese and 684 tons of (jamid) were imported in 1984.

Fish: about 5,600 tons of frozen and canned fish were imported in 1984, while our local production is hardly worth mentioning.

Honey: Jordan's honey production in 1984 was about 115 tons, and 219 tons were imported; that is, local production covered about one third of the country's requirements.

#### Water Resources

Jordan is considered a country which is poor in water resources in view of its few rivers and scanty rainfall. In addtion, the quantities available

fluctuate in accordance with annual climatic changes and shifts, since the rains fall with an intensity, quantity and distribution which differ from year to year.

Therefore water resources are considered among the most important elements governing the process of horizontal expansion in farming.

The various studies carried out on ground and surface water, more than 12 in number, have established that the water resources available in Jordan will meet its needs for all purposes to 2010 if they are used in the best manner and it is possible to develop them.

#### Available Water Resources

Rainwater is considered the sole source of ground and surface water in Jordan. The volume of rain which falls in Jordan annually is estimated at 6,895,000,000 cubic meters, distributed among various environmental areas.

The volume of surface water available in 10 basins (al-Yarmuk, al-Azraq, al-Zarqa', the Jordan Valley, the side watercourses, the Dead Sea Basin, the southern Aghwar and Wadi 'Arabah, the Wadi 'Arabah heights, Wad al-Yutm, al-Jafr, al-Hammad, and al-Sirhan) totals 789 million meters, of which 447 million meters are basic discharge and 342 million meters are flood water.

#### Water Requirements

The Greater Amman area and the Jordan Valley and southern al-Aghwar areas are considered the main consumers of water resources in Jordan. The consumption of the Greater Amman area comes to 69 million cubic meters, that of the Jordan Valley 260 million cubic meters and that of the southern al-Aghwar in addition to Wadi 'Arabah about 30 million cubic meters.

It is expected that the consumption of water for irrigation purposes in the Jordan Valley and the heights and in the Dead Sea basin, the southern al-Aghwar, Wadi 'Arabah and the Wadi 'Arabah heights will rise from 318 million cubic meters in 1985 to 433 million cubic meters in 1990.

In addition, Jordan's annual water consumption in 1980 was estimated at about 434 million cubic meters, of which 354 million cubic meters were used for agriculture and 80 million cubic meters for human consumption and industry.

#### Manpower

The population of Jordan (the East Bank) in 1982 was estimated at 2,415,200 persons, and the annual population growth rate came to 3.5 percent. Therefore it is expected that the population will rise to 4,486,000 in 2000.

In terms of the working manpower, the results derived from the agricultural census of 1975 show that the overall total population of farmers came to 403,721, of whom 331,543 were living in rural areas and 72,178 in towns. The number of agricultural holdings were 55,548; 64.7 percent of these holdings

were administered directly by their owners and in 31.2 percent agricultural work was dependent on the owners in addition to agricultural workers on wages.

With respect to manpower working in agriculture, it came to a total of 129,418, of whom 77,456 were permanent agricultural workers, of whom males constituted 63.9 percent. The number of temporary workers came to 15,519 and seasonal workers to 36,443. The source: Department of General Statistics, 1977.

The current 5-year plan, 1981-85, has pointed out that the magnitude of agricultural labor in 1980 was 63,000 workers, making up 14 percent of the total overall volume of labor in various sectors, and that the current 5-year plan will require 78,235 workers, according to the National Planning Council's estimate. The results of the agricultural census of 1983 have shown that total agricultural workers came to 66,341, of whom 26,597 were Jordanians and the rest of various nationalities, while agricultural holdings came to 57,923 in number.

From the foregoing, it is apparent that the volume of labor for 1983 had declined to half that of 1975, since many agricultural workers moved over to work in the areas of industry, trade and public services because of the difference in wages. In terms of holdings, the number of these increased, as evidence of the continued fragmentation of properties.

The years 1976-80 witnessed an emigration of Jordanian labor at a rate of 8,000 to 10,000 workers a year. As a result of that, workers were brought in from outside the country, including agricultural workers, who came to constitute about 60 percent of the volume of agricultural labor in accordance with the figures of the agricultural census of 1983.

There are no specific statistics on technicians and skilled agricultural sector workers and it is expected that their number will be low, not meeting the needs of the growing high-technology agricultural sector.

In addition, the number of competent university agriculturalists came to 2,110 in 1983; of these 1,850 were agricultural engineers, of whom 950 were working in the country, and 250 were veterinaries, of whom 150 were working in Jordan.

#### Investments and Financing

The volume of government investments in the agricultural sector during the 3-year 1973-75 development plan came to 13 million dinars out of a total overall government spending of 179 million, that is, a share of 7.3 percent. The volume of investments in the 5-year 1976-80 plan was 40.1 million dinars out of a total of 765 million, that is, 52 percent of overall investments.

As for the current 5-year plan, 1981-85, investment in the agriculture and cooperative sector came to 234 million dinars out of a total of 3.3 billion, or a 7.11 percent share of overall investments.

In the 3-year 1973-75 plan, 14 million dinars were allocated to irrigation water; that rose to 73.8 million dinars in the 1976-80 plan. In the current plan, allocations devoted to irrigation projects came to 275.6 million di-

# General Obstacles Land

Agricultural holdings have become fragmented and scattered, making them economically unviable. The results of the agricultural census for 1975 (Table Eight) have appeared, and it has appeared that the number of agricultural holdings increased while the agricultural area shrank, as an outcome of the expansion in construction and transactions in land. One thing that is worth pointing out is that the agricultural land which has been swallowed up by construction expansion has come to about 400,000 donums in the past 10 and the second of the second o years.

Ninety percent of the arable land is dependent on rainwater, leading to a fluctuation in cultivated areas and production each year.

## Agricultural Production

Production declined and fluctuated because of the pursuit of traditional methods of farming, the failure to use crop cycles, the lack of availability of trained technical personnel to serve this production and the spread of agricultural pests and plagues.

Production declined in light of the failure to use modern improved production accessories.

#### Water Resources

 $(x_1, y_1, y_2, \dots, y_n) = (y_1, y_2, \dots, y_n) + (x_1, y_2, \dots, y_n) + (x_1, y_2, \dots, y_n)$ The water resources available have been scanty; these do not exceed 1.2 billion cubic meters, whereas water requirements for agricultural purposes up to 2000 have been estimated at 606 million cubic meters, sufficient to irrigate approximately 600,000 donums only. For this reason, since this is the case, horizontal expansion of more than 100,000 donums is not possible, on grounds that the current irrigated area comes to about 500,000 donums.

The deterioration in the quality of water used in irrigation, for two reasons:

- 1. Groundwater pollution resulting from the placing of garbage in water sources.
- 2. The rise in the rate of salinity in irrigation water as a result of surplus withdrawals and the failure to compensate the groundwater reserve for that.

#### Manpower

The shortage of local trained manpower, which has led to the importation of unqualified foreign labor.

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The inadequacy of professional specialists in the form of veterinaries and agricultural engineers to cover all areas of agriculture.

The drain of competent people from the agricultural sector to other sectors inside and outside the country.

The rise in workers' wages and consequently an increase in the costs of production.

#### Production Accessories

Reliance to a large extent on imports to meet the needs of local agricultural production.

The rise in the cost of production accessories.

The lack of availability of effective oversight over the quality and transactions of production accessories.

The inability to test the degree of the suitability of the performance of imported production accessories to the local agricultural environment.

#### Investment and Financing

The deterioration in agricultural investments (governmental and private), in comparison with the other non-agricultural sectors.

The proliferation of bodies lending to farmers, which results in the confusion of the investor and the increase of the financial burden on him.

The lack of guidance and orientation of industrial investments in the proper manner.

#### Agricultural Administration

- A. The proliferation of departments and public areas of responsibility in the agricultural sector, without coordination among them, which has led to a diminution and duplication of tasks and activities.
- B. In view of the proliferation of agricultural policies, a lack of clarity has arisen in the present and future vision of comprehensive agricultural development.

#### Coordination and Prices

- A. The repetition of marketing bottlenecks because of the failure to regulate and control production.
- B. The lack of foreign markets, for a number of reasons, among them the rise in the cost of production, the deterioration in quality and poor preparation and classification in comparison with corresponding foreign commodities.

- C. The absence of balance in production and export policies and local consumption.
- D. The frustration of the present pricing systems in effect in realizing justice relative to the producer."

[16 Jul 85 p 4]

[Text] AL-DUSTUR is continuing the publication today of the second part of the study on the agricultural situation and the recommended conception of agricultural policy in Jordan announced by Eng Ahmad Dikhqan, the minister of agriculture, at his press conference held the day before yesterday.

AL-DUSTUR published the first part of this study yesterday.

General Goals of Agricultural Policy

- 1. Preserving agricultural resources in the form of land, water and manpower as sources of agricultural production, halting their deterioration and organizing their uses.
- 2. Increasing and organizing production in a manner meeting the requirements of local consumption, foreign markets and local food industries.
- 3. Providing a minimum production of basic strategic commodities of importance for self-sufficiency in food and seeking to realize self-sufficiency in other commodities.
- 4. Halting the fragmentation of agricultural lands and encouraging their combination in a manner serving their best uses.
- 5. Supporting and developing agricultural services including research, guidance, care, animal health and agricultural machinery.
- 6. Preparing the suitable circumstances for the private sector and encouraging it by every means to invest in the agricultural sector.
- 7. Raising agricultural producers' standard of living through attainment of a feasible economic return.

Means for Carrying out the Goals of Agricultural Policy

In order to achieve and carry out the goals of general agricultural policy, the situation requires that the following be carried out:

A. Preserving agricultural resources, in terms of:

Defining the uses of land, establishing projects to retain the soil and protect it from erosion, developing surface and groundwater sources, continuing to develop man-made forestation projects, protecting what is available, developing and preserving pastures and protected areas, encouraging individual initiatives aimed at exploiting land and water resources in the optimum form and developing trained manpower.

B. Increasing and organizing production through:

Reliance on plant and livestock farming patterns as far as possible in accordance with various data and uses.

Encouragement of the introduction of modern technology into agricultural production, the effort to reduce costs and the development and improvement of methods of agricultural marketing methods in a manner contributing to increased yields for farmers to encourage them to continue to produce.

C. Strategic and other commodities:

The effort to provide the consumer needs of society through the following:

Encouraging and guiding expansion in the production of basic strategic commodities (grain, animal meat, milk) and the development of projects for crops or imported commodities such as onions, sweet potatoes, apples, water-melon, canteloup and peaches.

D. Halting the fragmentation of agricultural ownership:

Codifying the legislation necessary to stop the encroachment of construction on farmland and encouraging and striving to incorporate and consolidate scattered agricultural holdings where that is possible.

E. Supporting and developing agricultural services through:

The strengthening of guidance, media, research, plant protection, animal health and livestock production agencies in a manner which will bring about the desired goals and support and modernize work methods in the areas of agricultural services, the provision of encouragement bonuses and the dissemination and general distribution of agricultural service centers such as plant protection laboratories, veterinary clinics and soil inspection laboratories.

F. Encouraging investment in the agricultural sector through the following:

The review of agricultural lending and credit policy to expand the base of lending and ease lending conditions.

- G. Supporting agricultural producers by:
- 1. Training and accrediting technical personnel.
- 2. Giving encouragement bonuses.
- 3. Guaranteeing encouragement prices which take the cost of production into consideration.

Conceptions of Recommended Solutions to Agricultural Problems

After a review of the general agricultural objectives which constitute the basic foundation of agricultural policy and the problems preventing the development of the agricultural sector and obstructing its prosperity:

We will then review the conceptions of the broad outlines of recommended solutions to these problems for their submission for discussion and approval so that they may be the basic reserve on which detailed studies will later be built, in the form of working papers performed by specialists that will in the near future be converted into development projects and plans:

1. Land: in order to prevent the fragmentation of ownership and increase area and agricultural production, the following is recommended:

The performance of a land use survey to show to what extent it is suited for purposes of agriculture or other purposes, while defining the suitable crops for each category and preparing special maps for that throughout the kingdom. That will be accompanied by the issuance of legislation which will suspend the breakup of land during the survey period to be determined for this purpose.

The suspension of any expansion of incorporation outside the present limits of municipalities and village councils and restriction of land uses outside incorporated areas to agricultural activities, until the use survey cited in Subsection A is completed.

The performance of economic studies to determine the form and minimum land unit area which is capable of agricultural exploitation and also to encourage the annexation and exchange of scattered holdings.

In the light of this survey, it will be possible to state the extent to which it will be possible to expand the agricultural area in the eastern and other regions.

The effort to prevent the erosion of soil and water runoff by establishing various projects, including indoctrination and guidance of citizens in modern techniques serving this purpose.

Expansion of man-made forestation projects, in particular on government and privately-owned lands with a slope of more than 30 percent.

Acquisition of Ministry of Agriculture participation in various incorporation councils provided that the view of the ministry be taken before approval of municipal and village council incorporation plans.

Issuance of the legislation necessary to carry this out.

Plant Production and Accessories

The definition of patterns of farming which are suited to various environments.

The provision of improved seeds, healthy seeds and seedlings with high quality and productivity suited to the Jordanian environment, encouragement of the introduction of modern technology into agricultural methods in terms of plowing, fertilizing, combatting pests and so forth in order to raise the productivity of survey units, completion and expansion of the construction

of agricultural roads and improvement of their quality, including the necessary maintenance work on them.

The supply of production accessories at moderate prices and quality oversight by:

Creating parallel or alternate resources.

Setting prices for agricultural accessories, especially those whose prices have not yet been set, such as fertilizers and agricultural pesticides.

Overseeing the quality of accessories and codifying technical specifications for them in application of internationally recognized standards whenever that is possible.

Carrying out studies and research on production accessories to ascertain the degree to which they are suited to the Jordanian environment and putting the results in general application and conveying them to farmers, especially fertilizers and agricultural pesticides.

Encouraging the establishment of a local industry for production accessories, such as:

Agricultural pesticides, chemical and natural processed fertilizer to make use of agricultural production byproducts, the industry to produce improved seeds, such as vegetable seeds, and the manufacture of agricultural activity equipment.

Supporting research, guidance and protection personnel, encouraging agricultural research to increase production, and gradually conveying this research to farmers.

#### Livestock Resources

In order to develop livestock resources, increase their numbers and provide the animal protein produced for the population, we recommend the following:

#### Fodder

Expanding the cultivation of fodder grains and green fodder by applying a specific farming pattern.

Introducing the cultivation of fodder materials into the crop cycle within the unirrigated field crops, supporting local production of fodder crops by purchasing at encouragement prices, as is the case with wheat, using purified waste water for the irrigation of additional green fodder areas, overseeing the type of readymade fodder produced locally, developing fodder material and fodder material concentrate inspection laboratories and providing the necessary fodder reserve for years of drought.

#### **Pastures**

Preserving pastures existing at present by prohibiting the farming of lands with less than 200 millimeters of rain.

Expanding the establishment of pasture protected areas to increase the plant cover, planting good pasture seeds, providing incentives for the private sector to invest in the agricultural area, expanding the studies of pasture plants and regulating pasture operations by issuing and carrying out the legislation necessary for that.

#### Services

Supporting and developing veterinary and guidance services including the general application of preventive veterinary medical services, encouraging the establishment of special veterinary clinics, putting centers for the provision of water into general application in centers of livestock resource concentration, developing scientific research related to the development of livestock resources, preserving these, especially with respect to increasing the competence of productive animals, seeking to provide production accessories from alternative or parallel sources to prevent monopolization and price rises, and encouraging the establishment of local industries for these accessories under international technical specifications.

#### Livestock Production Policy

Reviewing import and import policy so that local production interests and the population's consumer requirements will be taken into consideration as part of the orientation toward self-sufficiency, assigning responsibility for this to the Ministry of Agriculture along the lines of the method followed in terms of plant production and the current subsidization the government offers with respect to fodder materials, especially barley, bran and corn, except for special cases, granting encouragement bonuses to farmers who agree to grow grain in order to provide more of that, and linking livestock production policy to answering the society's needs.

Encouraging the private sector to establish service and production projects such as slaughterhouses, classification centers and coolers.

Organizing and controlling the productive process and its accessories and output by means of laws and statutes.

#### Water Resources

In view of the scarcity and meagerness of water resources, as Water Authority studies have pointed out, to preserve existing resources through their proper use and the development of their sources by pursuing the following steps:

Giving priority to the development of water resources in future government plans through the construction of dams and flood water retention in water-courses which flow into the Jordan Valley, the Red Sea and Wadi 'Arabah.

Constructing earthen dams in the desert region to retain flood and water-course water to supply groundwater sources and encouraging the construction of wells to collect water in towns and villages.

Drilling new wells and repairing old ones to preserve rainwater, in order to use this water in irrigation activities and household activities.

Preserving water resources by:

Lining, maintaining and raising the sides of irrigation channels, introducing new technology into irrigation operations and using the best methods of irrigating cultivated areas.

Renovating potable water systems.

Devoting attention to the development of water springs.

Carrying out studies, concentrating them on the water requirements of various crops in irrigated areas and providing technical personnel to carry out such studies.

Putting the construction of sewer and factory water purification plants into general use in order to reuse the water for irrigation purposes.

Protecting water from pollution by:

Preventing the commingling of factory and sewer water with flowing water and water from springs.

Overseeing irrigation and pest control activities in irrigated areas to prevent the pollution of water with agricultural pesticides.

Overseeing water channels, especially open ones, to prevent their pollution by plastic materials, pesticides and so forth.

Overseeing water quality by laboratory.

Overseeing and guiding water use for various purposes through awareness and  $\operatorname{guidance}$ .

The Workforce

The results of the agricultural census for 1983 have shown that the size of the workforce in the agricultural sector is starting to decline, since according to the 1975 census that came to 129,418 and dropped to 66,341 in 1983. The reason for that may be attributed to the flight of workers out of the country and the assimilation of some of them into other sectors in view of their low wages in comparison with those in other sectors, in addition to the seasonal nature of work in the agricultural sector.

Therefore, in order to preserve agricultural labor, improve its performance, develop it and attract it to work in this sector, we consider that the following is appropriate:

Opening vocational training centers for people working in agriculture to enable them to gain advanced technical skills and expertise.

Improving work circumstances with respect to agricultural workers.

Reviewing the curricula of the agricultural schools that exist now and developing them out of the desire to graduate numbers of skilled agricultural technicians.

Creating material and moral incentives to attract competent agriculturalists to work in the agricultural sector.

Coordinating the Ministries of Agriculture, Higher Education and Education with respect to the areas of agricultural specialization available in the faculties of agriculture and agricultural vocational schools, to ensure that a surplus not occur in some areas of specialization at the expense of others in the sector of agriculture.

#### Investment and Financing

Agricultural production, like any investment process, requires adequate capital in the first place so that it may cover the various expenses of production. This is normally available from two main sources, the government and the local private sector. The government's role is prominent in providing financial allocations needed for large-sized agricultural investments which lie outside the capacities of the private sector and also in providing money to furnish loans to agricultural investors. The private sector, which to a large extent relies on individual initiative, is concerned with agricultural investments whose size is small or average in comparison with the public sector. On the basis of the abovementioned investment and financing problems in the Jordanian agricultural sector, we consider the following appropriate:

The government should prepare a group of studies on economically feasible agricultural projects to be a guide to local and foreign agricultural investors.

Legislation should be issued to encourage and protect private investment in agriculture out of the desire to attract local and foreign capital along the lines of what is happening in the industry sector.

The base of agricultural lending should be expanded and its numerous sources consolidated. As part of that, the conditions for accepting service for small investors should be made easier.

The principle of insuring crops should be introduced and the establishment of private or public organizations specializing in this should be encouraged.

A qualitative and quantitative balance should be created in the government's agricultural investments so that they will ensure justice in the distribution of the gains of agricultural development among all citizens in the case of all agricultural areas.

An orientation should be made to have the private sector exploit government lands agriculturally as encouragement bonuses.

The volume of investment and financing in the agricultural development sector should be increased through government development plans.

#### Agricultural Administration

Since the Ministry of Agriculture was established, the bodies responsible for agricultural administration have grown and proliferated, as part of the government's thoughts on facilitating and concentrating measures to deal with the conditions of agriculture and provide it with freedom of movement.

It appears that other bodies paralleling the Ministry of Agriculture have grown to the point where they have lost ties of coordination and integration with this ministry and among themselves.

Therefore remedying this situation will require the following:

Reviewing the structure of departments connected to the agricultural sector and their relationship to the Ministry of Agriculture and consolidating similar activities so that the ministry will be the supervising body responsible for comprehensive agricultural development.

Determining the functions and tasks of the ministry in light of the approach referred to above.

In the light of this, reviewing the laws and statutes of agricultural agencies connected to the effort to issue statutes and laws serving the goal referred to in Subsection A.

Supporting the agricultural departments with competent specialists.

#### Agricultural Marketing

One of the most significant problems facing farmers and investors in the agricultural sector are the almost permanent marketing bottlenecks for certain agricultural commodities produced locally because of haphazard, unprogrammed, unstudied farming and the failure to follow patterns of farming aimed at the production of crops which will meet the requirements of local and foreign markets and meet factories' requirements for processed commodities. The appearance of marketing bottlenecks in an almost constant form gives obvious proof of the lack of competence of the marketing system now being followed in Jordan. Therefore it has become necessary to review this system and the system of the pricing of agricultural products, now that its failure in remedying marketing bottlenecks has been proved, to replace it with another, more flexible, dynamic system which will be characterized by speed in movement and will incorporate the changes which have newly arisen in the movement of local, Arab and foreign markets and deal with them rapidly and competently, by means of the following:

Linking agricultural production to local consumer needs, foreign markets and the needs of local industries and setting out plans and measures which will guarantee that this is carried out, including the setting out of suitable farming patterns.

Providing guarantees by the government and the organizations concerned, including the Jordanian Agricultural Products Marketing and Processing Company, of foreign markets by concluding agreements to sell agricultural products, encouraging contract farming and pursuing the principle of barter in foreign markets.

Establishing a fund to support agricultural production to deal with cases of marketing bottlenecks and the deterioration in prices, provided that the government seek sources of financing for this fund and the market and producers participate in that.

Setting out a policy to subsidize exports of agricultural commodities produced locally to foreign markets to encourage exporters to open new stable markets.

Seeking to reduce air transport rates, especially to European markets.

Applying legislation related to the classification and proper packaging of agricultural products and intensifying its application, applying specifications and standards bearing on the packages of agricultural products and suspending transactions in packages to which specifications have not been applied, especially commodities prepared for export.

Authorizing three categories for dealing with agricultural products in terms of quality in transactions within the central market:

For excellent categories, "first class."

For good categories, "second class."

For low quality categories, "third class."

Ministry of Agriculture officials should also be given the power to oversee quality before it enters the market.

The current pricing system should be reviewed and a new system set out on a basis where the minimum price is the cost of production, provided that a specific percentage of profit be added, in order to guarantee the farmer a reasonable revenue from which the bidding will begin in the central market, and that in addition a higher limit be set for the pricing of production units which the bidding will not be permitted to go beyond.

The role of middlemen and merchants should be regulated and subjected to oversight by the responsible organizations.

The establishment of agricultural industries using raw materials produced locally should be encouraged and facilities and customs exemptions should be granted them for imported raw materials which enter into their industries.

An attempt should be made to abrogate restrictions imposed on the movement of Jordanian agricultural products in Arab and adjacent countries.

Centers for the accumulation of marketing information should be established in countries importing Jordanian products in order to make it possible to adopt the suitable marketing decisions.

An effort should be made to reduce the tariff on the prices of transportation of Jordanian agricultural products domestically and abroad.

Current marketing studies should be upgraded and their scope enlarged to extend to the markets of other countries.

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CSO: 4404/433

KUWAIT

BROAD SURVEY OF SECURITY, POPULATION SITUATION

Emergency Plans Instituted

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 24-30 Jul 85 pp 8-10

[Text] Those who shared the experience and heard the cries of anger and vengeance echoing last week all over the Kuwaiti national street demanding that war be declared against the criminals of terrorism who put the bombs at the popular cafes and tried to attack the amir of Kuwait and tinker with the country's security and stability; and those who shared the experience with and heard the Kuwaiti deputies of parliament demanding that martial law be instituted, that all citizens be given weapons to defend themselves and their land and taht every terrorist and saboteur be executed and relations be severed with any side or country which promotes terrorism and trains terrorists, calling also for the need to tighten security to protect the establishments and the border crossings and inspect diplomatic pouches; all of those who heard all these outcries and calls, became certain that the Kuwaiti people are going through an emergency phase in history, a phase in which they did not imagine they would be the target of this criminal series of terror which is growing in scope and intensity and which the acting prime minister, Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad described as a series of terrorist operations which will not stop, but will persist against the national front, the democratic experience, the development process and the national commitments of Kuwaiti foreign policy.

Thus, this emergency phase Kuwait is experiencing draws its short and long-term political significance from the establishment of a fence of measures and precautions around the domestic front to protect and defend it against this team of terrorists who are trying to penetrate the Kuwaiti security belt and thwart stability and democracy in Kuwait before spreading to the rest of the Gulf states one after the other. It is an emergency phase whose import also lies in the changes in domestic security and political calculations through the change in the demographic map which shows the Kuwaitis as a minority in relation to the other nationalities, Arab and Asian, totalling over 136, and through the treatment of such a demographic imbalance by coexistence, not tomention the consequences of the escalation of the Iraq-Iran war and terrorism brought into the country from Lebanon and other points of regional struggle in the area.

The emergency phase is also developing through changes in Kuwaiti foreign policy with regard to relations with the countries and forces who promote and

export terrorism, thus turning Kuwait into a field of constant conflicts. [This is] while preserving the established national values which the Kuwaiti government, the National Assembly and the Kuwaiti people are determined to preserve and uphold, regardless of the price. Perhaps the formula approved by the Kuwaiti National Assembly last Wednesday cancelling financial commitments to certain Arab countries underscores this change.

Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad expressed this meaning clearly when he said: "What happened to us will not stop us from proceeding with Kuwait's independent national policy which is based on its independent judgment and truth in Islamic, Arab and international circles. The people of Kuwait will not be shaken by this incident. Indeed, they will become more cohesive."

This phase, in which Kuwait is facing an ongoing series of terrorist acts, embraces in its framework two key elements. The first one is linked to a long-term security plan divided into short-term tactical security plans. The second element is related to the government's strategic policy, be it in relation to the democratic and parliamentary experience and the economic experience as well, or in relation to foreign policy. Our discussion now involves the first element for this phase, with its dimensions and weight on the Kuwaiti citizens or resident aliens, as it seems to be a security phase in the broad political sense which is linied to state security. Kuwaiti interior minister, Shaykh Nawwaf al-Ashmad says: "A long-term security plan has been drawn up and will be implemented soon. The security agency will have the capability to face this terrorist challenge, underscoring the fact that sabotage activities against Kuwait will not stop us from following the path we have chosen for ourselves and Kuwait will not give in to blackmail and threats and will strike with an iron fist against any individual or side who wishes to tinker with its security and stability."

On the same security line aimed at protecting the country's stratetic installations, the undersecretary of the Interior Ministry, Maj Gen Yusuf al-Khurafi, says that all Kuwaiti vital installations have been placed under tight security as part of sophisticated security plans. He emphasized that concerted efforts to search for the perpetrators of the cafe bombings are still going on in full force, saying that the police, army and the national guard are cooperating to protect these installations within a plan to counteract terrorism and establish peace and tranquility.

This quick initiative was actually put into effect by the Supreme Political Commission for Security, chaired by acting Prime Minister Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad. This commission issued prompt orders to enforce a unified security plan in all ministries and government installations which currently occupy the ministries' complex located on Arab Gulf Street opposite al-Sayf Palace to protect its facilities, entrances, basements and parking lots. These immediate measures were also applied to food cooperatives; closed-circuit TV was installed in the commercial market and these instructions were carried out in hotels as well.

Security instructions include the appointment and training of security officials from among army and police retirees or from those who have fulfilled their military service.

The Interior Ministry will adopt measures to train these security cadres in the protection of vital installations. Some Kuwaiti newspapers reported that international expertise will be sought in the field of upgrading the capabilities of security agencies in order to keep up with current circumstances that have surfaced in the Kuwaiti arena.

It is obvious that those security plans already in force have been drawn up to reflect the need of this emergency phase Kuwait is going through to counteract this continual series of terrorism. Indeed, they reflect broad urgent demands and popular convictions. It may be said that these plans would not have met popular acceptance if applied in normal circumstances. But ultimately, they are a reflection of a perilous state and uncertain future which necessitates this tight security belt in the wake of every Kuwaiti citizen or resident's feeling that he may be the victim of other bombings wherever he may be.

Perhaps the stimulating, tumultuous and conscious dialogue in a Kuwaiti National Assembly session during the security debates last week sheds some light on the kind of demands and warnings calling for stiffer penalties against anyone who violates the country's security. One assembly member, Khalaf al-Ghaza, noted that the training camps in south Lebanon are no longer targetted against Israel, but rather aim to create discord among the Arab peoples. He demanded that the interests of these forces be struck, relations with the regimes who back them and deal with terrorists be severed, and all suspicious elements be deported from Kuwait.

As for Dr Ahmad al-Rab'i, he says that Kuwait is embarking on a new stage of counteracting terrorism which requires poise and calm nerves. He pointed out that organizations that claim responsibility for terrorist operations, such as the Islamic Jihad, the Revolutionary Brigades and others, are nothing but fronts for the real criminals. Therefore, the key solution to the security problem is not arrests or deportation linked to the events, but rather a security policy based on the political aspect above all else.

Deputy Faysal al-Dawish demands the declaration of martial law according to the provisions of article 69 of the constitution should this become necessary.

Member of parliament Dr Ahmad al-Khatib says terrorist acts are aimed at Kuwait's policy and course. We as a democratic state respect human beings and their freedoms, and just as we do not interfere in the affairs of others, we expect them not to interfere in our affairs.

Deputy Yusuf al-Mukhallid wonders why do we not give the citizens weapons since the people are boiling, the citizens are afraid to go to public places and the government threatens to strike with an iron fist, and since we say that every citizen is a guard?

Deputy Jasim al-'Awn said before parliament that we do not want to close our eyes to some suspicious practices by some embassies in Kuwait. He demanded that everything brought into the country must be subject to technical inspection to assure the absence of any weapons or explosives.

Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad answered him, saying: "The Supreme Security Commission issues everything related to customs, coastal defense and other things. There is a monitoring committee to follow up these issues. Even with regard to embassies, certain things have been done.

It had been noted that the issue of demographic composition in Kuwait and the influence it has on the security formula, be it in the previous ordinary phase or the current emergency phase, had attracted great interest on the part of the Kuwaiti deputies, who asked that it undergo a radical examination. Deputy Salih al-Fadalah said that we are facing the consequences of the Iran-Iraq war and the by-products and tumbles of the Lebanese war which have an influence on us because we have become a minority in our demographic make-up, representing 36 percent of Kuwait's total population of 1.7 million, according to the most recent census.

Salih al-Fadalah added that the entire Arab League is represented in Kuwait as are the South Asian countries and the Islamic world. We have 136 nationalities and it is impossible for 12,000 men to watch all of them. The terrorism directed against us is international in scope and much money is spent on it. The government must submit a bill for combatting such terrorism. All or some countries settle their conflicts in the Kuwaiti arena.

Deputy Dr Ahmad al-Ray'i says the demographic situation must be re-examined because it is the core of the security problem. No one can preserve security in a country that has more than 136 different nationalities. Should the current demographic imbalance persist, law and order cannot be established, given the laxity in immigration and passport laws and the thousands of people who enter the country on bonds posted by imaginary companies.

Deputy Jasim al-'Awn says "There are 60,000 applications for Kuwaiti citizenship and I am absolutely certain that only 5 percent of this number are eligible. You may ask who the others are, from where they come, what they are doing in Kuwait, where their allegiance lies and what their future in Kuwait may be. This huge number represents non-Kuwaitis or people without nationalities. They are a time bomb ready to go off at any moment, for how many of them may be planted for sabotage and how many are unemployed and therefore an easy tool for crime and criminals?" He demanded an immediate stop to this by identifying the ranks and determining the identity of every indivicual living in Kuwait.

Based on this presentation of the demographic crisis in Kuwait, particularly with regard to the security agencies' responsibility in watching and monitoring this demographic imbalance due to the presence of 136 non-Kuwaiti nationalities, Interior Minister Shaykh Nawwaf al-Ahmad says: "The security agencies have the capability to counteract the sophisticated terrorist tactics and any shortcomings will be met. Cadres who were sent abroad for training have taken over management of these agencies." He affirmed that the national guard is now responsible for protecting important institutions and a plan has been devised to control Kuwait's access points, and to set up the necessary fences and ditches. He also talked about the Kuwaiti cabinet decision to raise the salaries of policemen to equal the salaries of their counterparts

in the GCC countries and to grant powers to the chiefs of the various Kuwaiti districts, backing them with the necessary qualified and capable personnel, to perform their duties of safeguarding security and stability in the country.

Gulf circles say that the GCC countries will take the initiative in formulating a new security agreement with the priority of beefing up the walls and boundaries of the security zone against infiltration and penetration attempts by terrorist elements.

The GCC secretary general estimated that the new security formula will evolve from the GCC security agreement rendered obsolete by new changes and circumstances.

Western diplomatic circles in Kuwait note that the prevalent feeling in GCC countries toward the red signals flashed by recent terrorist operations in Kuwait makes it clear that the region will undergo sharp changes in its security and military relations toward the achievement of more coordination and integration, the unification of its policy and the prompt creation of a joint Gulf force and more military maneuvers between its forces with a view to adopting collective positions against the force or country which promotes terrorist operations and trains terrorists on its land.

It appears that this political and military plan is being formulated for immediate implementation in the wake of the growing perils which are quickly spreading to Gulf security.

Whereas the Kuwaiti National Assembly has turned down the government's request to keep up the Arab support pledged by the 1979 Arab summit in Baghdad which obligated Kuwait to pay 100 million dinars to each of Syria, Jordan and the PLO, this refusal came following the National Assembly's criticism of the Syrian position in Lebanon.

#### Sequence of Terrorism

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 24-30 Jul 85 p 9

[Text] On 12 December 1983 the sequence of terrorism began with the bombing of the American and French embassies in Kuwait and the attempt to blow up the airport's observation tower and some other vital installations, killing 6 persons and wounding 8. This terrorist scheme was resumed with the hijacking of the Kuwaiti airliner in December 1984 to the Iranian Mehrabad Airport when American citizens were murdered and Kuwaiti citizens physically abused. The airliner has not been returned nor have the hijackers been brought to trial.

This was followed by numerous assassination attempts against Kuwaiti diplomats abroad and the attempt on the life of AL-SIYASAH's editor-in-chief, Mr Ahmad al-Jarallah, in front of the newspaper's main office. These terrorist operations went so far as to attack the motorcade of the amir of Kuwait, Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad, last April. A few weeks later sabotage activities moved to the cafe bombings which killed 8 persons and wounded 89 others.

Kuwait was subjected to a pressure attempt from all sides at the hands of the al-Da'wah party which demanded the release of 17 terrorists jailed in Kuwait awaiting implementation of the death or life sentences against them for their part in the 1983 Kuwait bombings. This demand was also included in the demands of the hijackers of the TWA airliner in Beirut last month.

Perhaps the prevailing conviction among Kuwaiti, Arab and foreign political circles is that this terrorist series, its focus on Kuwaiti security not-withstanding, is linked to a scheme aimed at all the GCC countries in an attempt to bring down this sophisticated formula of military, political and security coordination which has crystallized during the past 2 years.

University professor and prominent member of the Kuwaiti National Assembly. Dr 'Abdallah al-Nafsi, says "the recent bombing in Kuwait at popular cafes and the other preceding incidents are the beginning of a phase which will last for a long time, not just 2 months, a year or 2 years. I expect this phase of destruction, terrorism and murder of innocent people will include all GCC countries. Therefore, we must be fully aware of this fact and deal with it as the beginning of a stage of tension and military and political labor pains which may produce new arrangements in the region. Hence, a long-term security plan must be devised. We must not focus our attention on who is responsible for these operations, whether the Jihad organization or the Revolutionary Brigades. Rather we must beef up the security agency to meet the challenges of this phase." The Omani minister of state for foreign affairs, Yusuf al-'Alawi, exhibited a good understanding of the Gulf mixture which is being threatened by the terrorists when he affirmed that the recent escalation of terrorism against Kuwait's security is in fact directed at all GCC countries which have been targeted for this stage, thus necessitating great efforts and initiatives to face this recent security challenge.

#### Citizenship Acquisition

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 24-30 Jul 85 p 9

[Text] The imbalance in the demographic composition in Kuwait constitutes a time bomb which has the competent agencies very concerned and worried. It is a most sensitive issue to broach, deal with and discuss, especially when the subject of citizenship and naturalization is brought up.

It is a known fact that this problem represents an inverted triangle whereby the Kuwaitis constitute a minority in their own country while the other nationalities comprise the majority. Included in this majority is a wandering group widely-known as the group "without a nationality," whose exact number is not known, but over 60,000 of them have applied for citizenship. Kuwaiti sources emphasize that only 5 percent of them are elibible for Kuwaiti citizenship.

Kuwait has 136 different nationalities whose presence, coexistence and mingling in Kuwait are a source of numerous tendencies and currents which can pose a danger to Kuwaiti security from within.

Kuwait is excessively sensitive about this issue. It is always trying to preserve the existing human balances through standards and criteria which change from one time to another with regard to the Kuwaiti political system.

Kuwait's geographic location subjects it to never-ending waves of migration, including those from the mainland in particular. And in view of the constant tribal migrations in the region, it is a big factor in the inability to set down identification for Kuwait and to have a count of Kuwaiti citizens. Matters are further complicated by the existence of new elements of imbalance in the human structure which Kuwait and its political system are trying not to upset.

The story of citizenship in Kuwait began when Shaykh Ahmad al-Jabir, who was in power from 1921 to 1950 and the father of the present ruler, tried to set up a naturalization system. He prepared a naturalization bill in the late forties amid a different set of political circumstances. This law was rescinded and another law, more compatible with Kuwait's circumstances at the time, was passed but not enforced. In 1959, the first naturalization law, No 15 of 1959, was passed on 14 September of the same year. Legislators describe this law as the first practical legislation regulating Kuwaiti citizenship. It was necessary for this law to start with a definition of Kuwaitis, so it said "Kuwaitis" are those people who participated in the original founding of the Kuwaiti homeland.

The legislators picked the year 1920 as the starting date for the establishment of Kuwaiti citizenship, saying it was in this year that the Kuwaiti wall was built to defend the Kuwaiti homeland. This wall was built by all the citizens who were in Kuwait at the time and, therefore, were all eligible, in view of the efforts they endured, to be the first citizens.

All those who obtained their citizenship in 1959 had the status of original citizenship or "red citizenships" or the founding fathers. The red citizenship is the highest class of Kuwaiti citizenship.

Second class citizenship is held by those who obtained Kuwaiti citizenship not through the founding fathers, but through a Kuwaiti mother widowed or divorced by her non-Kuwaiti husband.

Other Arab and foreign naturalized citizens who have rendered valuable services to Kuwait carry citizenship of the afore-mentioned class.

Demographic Considerations

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 24-30 Jul 85 p 10

Major Nationalities Living in Kuwait

The major Arab nationalities in Kuwait are the Palestinians, Egyptians and Iraqis.

According to the 1980 census, there were 547,495 Arab subjects living in Kuwait while the Asians totaled 204,104 persons, or half the Arab population.

There were also 1,601 Africans, 9,984 Europeans, 1,853 North Americans, 14 South Americans and 158 Australians and New Zealanders.

In 1983, the Kuwaiti population was 1,671,620 persons, 634,870 of which were Kuwaitis and 1,036,750 non-Kuwaitis.

The Palestinians represent the largest community in Kuwait, followed by the Egyptians, then the Syrians.

It is noted that these nationalities are distributed throughout Kuwait. For example, the Hawalli quarter is where most Palestinians live and its better-known name is "the bank." "Al-Salimiyah" section is the place for Egyptian families while Egyptian laborers and bachelors are concentrated in the al-Sharq area.

The Iraqis are scattered among the Kuwaiti families due to kinship and the same thing goes for the other Gulf states subjects.

#### TABLE SHOWING CHANGES IN KUWAIT DEMOGRAPHIC COMPOSITION

YEAR	NATIONALITY SEX			TOTAL POPULATION			
		<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	Total	<u>M</u>	F	<u>Total</u>
1980	Kuwaiti	210,349	284,964	565,613	706,339	581,313	1,357,952
	non-Kuwaiti	495,990	296,349	772,339			
1985	Kuwaiti	337,243	342,358	679,601	964,576	730,552	1,069,800
	non-Kuwaiti	627,333	288,194	195,627			

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CSO: 4404/431

**LEBANON** 

#### BRIEFS

BROADCASTING RESUMES--Beirut, 16 Aug (QNA)--According to press reports in Beirut today, Al-Murabitun have succeeded in bringing a broadcasting station into Beirut through a number of its leaders. The press reports say the 10-kilowatt station, known as the Voice of Arab Lebanon, will be the organ of the Al-Murabitun movement. The sources say that the station was scheduled to broadcast after the end of the National Salvation Front conference in Shtawrah [6 August--FBIS]. However, as a result of contacts held with the Al-Murabitun movement inside Beirut the resumption in the broadcasts of the Voice of Arab Lebanon was postponed to a later date. [Text] [Doha QNA in Arabic 0925 GMT 16 Aug 85 LD]

CSO: 4400/239

OMAN

#### BRIEFS

UNIVERSITY CONSTRUCTION AGREEMENT SIGNED--The education minister today signed an agreement for 30 million Omani riyals [approximately \$87 million--fbis] with representatives of Philip-Harris International and two other British companies to construct the various departments of Sultan Gabus University.

[Summary] [Muscat Domestic Service in Arabic 1300 GMT 5 Aug 85 GF]

NEW MINISTRY OFFICIAL APPOINTED--His Majesty Sultan Qabus ibn Sa'id has issued a decree appointing Sa'ud ibn Ibrahim Al Bu Sa'idi as Education and Youth Affairs Ministry under secretary for education affairs. [Summary] [Salalah Domestic Service in Arabic 1600 GMT 17 Aug 85 GF]

NEW AMBASSADOR TO PDRY--His Majesty Sultan Qabus ibn Sa'id today issued edict number 65/85 appointing Abdallah ibn Ahmad ibn Salim al-Marhun, the Sultanate's ambassador to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, to the post of nonresident ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the PDRY. [Text] [Muscat Domestic Service in Arabic 1300 GMT 22 Aug 85 GF]

COURT OFFICIAL APPOINTED--His Majesty Sultan Qabus ibn Sa'id has issued edict number 66/85 appointing Engineer Abdallah ibn Abbas, deputy chief of the Sultan's Court for Technical Affairs. [Text] [Muscat Domestic Service in Arabic 1300 GMT 22 Aug 85 GF]

CSO: 4400/240

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

### PALESTINE NATIONAL FUND DEFICIT DISCUSSED

Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 8 Jul 85 p 19

[Article by Sana' al-'Alul: \$100 Million Fiscal Deficit in the National Fund]

[Text] The economic crisis and the fiscal deficit from which the PLO is suffering are among the old yet new challenges which it faces. At a time when the burden it has shouldered to help the Palestinians in the camps in Lebanon has grown, sources of support have diminished. The Arab nations, instead of increasing the commitments they promised at the Baghdad Summit, have in some cases held back on their payments.

How will the PLO face this financial challenge, which grows every year, at a time when many must receive generosity to strengthen their very existence?

In order to answer this question and other urgent matters, AL-DUSTUR met with Mister Jawid al-Ghusayn, administrative director of the Council of the Palestine National Fund.

[Question] What is the extent of the fiscal deficit from which fund is suffering? What are its causes?

[Answer] The fund's monetary deficit is in excess of \$100 million. The cause of the deficit can be traced to a loss of resources on one hand, and to an increase in the scope of responsibilities on the other hand.

With regard to the diminishing resources, our primary support was derived from the decisions of the Baghdad Summit for commitments from the Arab nations, which mandated their provision of \$100 million annually to the organization. Instead of this sum multiplying we now receive only \$29.5 million annually.

We naturally take into account the circumstances from which some Arab nations, especially Iraq, are suffering. However, we hope that the Arab nations will live up to their duties to the Palestinian people and the Palestinian cause. At this point, let us not neglect to extend our thanks to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, which has undertaken to pay all of its commitments.

From another perspective, the responsibilities of the organization have increased because of the economic pressures the enemy has practiced on our people in the occupied territories, in addition to the large human and material losss inflicted on them in the war of the camps.

[Question] The Palestinian people in the occupied territories are suffering from the bad economic situation, which manifests negative effects at every level. What are the causes which led to this situation?

[Answer] Since the year 1967 the government of occupation has persisted in implementing its plans aimed at destroying the Palestinian national economy by hampering and paralyzing the services and infrastructures of this economy, to hinder the building or development of any productive base which would provide the means of confrontation and steadfastness in the face of occupation and settlement. The goal is to eliminate the Palestinian Arab presence.

The enemy authorities have used a number of policies, trespasses, and practices to confiscate lands, so that the percentage of seized land reaches approximately 62 percent of the total lands in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. This introduces an agricultural problem.

Likewise, they have resorted to imposing exorbitant taxes, restrictions on production and commerce, and paved the way for themselves to absorb the local market in the occupied territories and subjugate it to their economy, whether in the context of commerce, or employing the labor force at reduced wages. The value of Israeli exports to the occupied territories exceeds a billion dollars annually. The occupied territories rank second to the United States in Israeli exports.

Likewise, the number of Arab workers employed by the Israeli economy is in excess of 100,000. In the absence of any national sovereignty, this coercive robbery has led to a deterioration of economic conditions and the erosion of the productive structure in Palestinian society.

The pressure of this aggressive policy, in addition to the enemy's economic circumstances, which has negative effects on the entire economic life in the occupied territories, has led to the spread of serious unemployment problems, cessation of production, migration and emigration. This forces us to assume the burden which our national duty towards our steadfast people under occupation has mandated for us.

In addition to confronting such burdens there, it is incumbent on us to pursue such necessities as schooling, overcoming the shortage of clinics, hospitals, and medical supplies, and to undertake development plans. No matter how small they are, they face obstacles the enemy places before us. In our turn, we attempt to do an impossible job of aiding the people with the burdens of their life.

[Question] What of the Palestinian people outside of the occupied nation?

[Answer] Among the most important situations which now confront us is that of the human and material losses which ensued from the attack on the Palestinian camps in Lebanon. Material losses topped tens of millions of dollars as 6,700 dwellings were razed or ruined, requiring their repair and reconstruction before the coming of the winter season. Likewise, schools and hospitals were destroyed and burned. Thus, before us is an urgent need to provide tents and blankets, foodstuffs, and medical supplies. In this matter, we look towards the world, and to our brother Arabs in particular, for the outstretched hand of help to deal with this tragedy. We have apprised the international agencies of the scope and depth of this tragedy. In our turn, we try to deal with this emergency situation through these agencies with the greatest possible speed.

In our recent meeting at the fund, we decided to issue a resolution to designate a sum to deal with the emergency matters which resulted from the attack on the camps.

[Question] What steps will the fund take to confront this burden and to overcome the monetary deficit?

[Answer] In its recent meeting, the fund made a number of resolutions to confront these burdens, among which was to curb expenses in all the organizations. We will modernize the executive levels of these agencies, push for the implementation of austerity programs, and set priorities, in order to prevail over the deficit from which we are suffering.

From a different perspective, we call on responsible Arabs to face up to their obligations and to discharge their commitments to the cause, so we are pursuing contacts with Arab nations by way of delegations which will soon undertake visits to these nations.

[Question] What is your opinion of the accusations expressed by Mr Ahmad Sa'dun, speaker of the Kuwaiti parliament, against the PLO and some Arab nations concerning the misuse of resistance monies?

[Answer] Mr Sa'dun can express whatever opinion he wants, but it is our opinion that the commitments of the Arab nation to the Palestinian people and their cause are their duty and destiny. Our people in the territories suffer from the harshness of occupation and from inhuman practices and pressures, something which is known to mankind and to all the Arabs. These people, and the confrontation states, are the primary shield of the Arab nation.

Moving from the discussion of the poor economic situation and the deficit in the Palestine National Fund to political activity in the international arena, Mr al-Ghusayn was a member of the joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation which visited Italy, France, and the Vatican.

[Question] How do you assess your recent visit to Italy and France, and how important is the activity in the international arena?

[Answer] The joint delegation met in Rome with Prime Minister Bettino Craxi and Foreign Minister Julio Andreotti. The delegation explained the purpose of the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement, and the necessity of holding an international conference. The Italian position on the Amman agreement was positive. They supported our request for holding an international conference, and promised to pursue the issue and to support our request for holding an international conference with the European Community.

In France we met with Mr Roland Dumas, the minister of external relations, who promised that his nation would also expend all efforts in order to achieve a just and comprehensive solution to the Palestinian issue.

In the Vatican, His Holiness the Pope expressed fraternal feelings toward the sufferings of our Palestinian people. He will expend his efforts to promote the convening of an international conference, the goal of which will be to achieve a solution in the region.

Mr al-Ghusayn said that continuous and consistent activity is necessary in order not to lose momentum and that we are on the side of truth. We must not talk only in a seasonal way, but we must work night and day every day of the year. We are learning that the road is long and hard, and we should not fall under the impression that the solution is within hand's reach. There is no doubt that we should pursue all avenues at every level in order to achieve our goals.

12815

CSO: 4404/420

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

#### BRIEFS

CABINET APPROVES CONSULAR OFFICE—The UAE Council of Ministers today endorsed a memorandum presented by the Foreign Ministry concerning the opening of a UAE consular office in New York. This is due to the importance of this city as a commercial center in the United States.

[Summary] [Abu Dhabi Domestic Service in Arabic 0930 GMT 5 Aug 85]

OIL TO JAPAN--The UAE has now become the largest exporter of crude oil to Japan, replacing Saudi Arabia. According to the Ministry of Petroleum and Mineral Resources, the UAE is supplying Japan with 679,000 barrels per day [bdp]. A recent survey showed that the UAE exports to Japan accounted for 19.9 percent of its imports. According to the ministry, Japanese imports have fallen considerably this year. In April, its imports were only 3.4 million bpd. The Japanese imports from Saudi Arabia have fallen by 39 percent this year. Though the UAE has become the largest supplier of crude to Japan, the volume of exports has been substantially lower. In certain months, the ministry notes, the volume was one-fifth of the original. The UAE has long-term agreements with Japan for supplying oil and natural gas. [Excerpt] [Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 29 Jul 85 p 11]

UAE OIL REVENUES--Dubayy, 9 Aug (GNA)--The UAE oil revenues for the past 5 years in the UAE between 1980 and the end of 1984 totaled about 296 billion dirhams, equivalent to \$80 billion. [Excerpt] [Doha GNA in Arabic 1225 GMT 9 Aug 85]

UAE CHOLERA FREE--Dubayy, 15 Aug (WAKH)--The UAE Health Ministry denied today reports that it introduced new procedure stipulating that persons entering the UAE from cholera-affected countries should obtain anticholera vaccination certificates. The ministry's assistant undersecretary for preventive medicine Dr. 'Abd al-Wahab al-Muhaydab said the ministry has not taken any move in this regard and affirmed that no case of cholera has so far been reported in the country. [Text] [Manama WAKH in English 1520 GMT 15 Aug 85]

FACTORY STATISTICS—Abu Dhabi, 16 Aug (WAKH)—The magazine of the UAE municipality administration today said that the number of factories in the UAE is 820, out of which 305 are in Dubayy, 221 in Abu Dhabi, and 142 in Al-Shariqah. [Summary] [Manama WAKH in Arabic 1320 GMT 16 Aug 85]

13.

INFILTRATORS APPREHENDED--Al-Shariqah--Al-Shariqah police yesterday arrested 8 Iranian infiltrators who illegally attempted to enter the country on board a launch. Four other infiltrators managed to get a taxi and enter the country before the arrival of the police. [Excerpt] [Al-Shariqah AL-KHALIJ in Arabic 13 Aug 85 p 1]

UAE BUDGET DEFICIT—Abu Dhabi, 14 Aug (WAKH)—The deficit in the UAE budget this year is likely to be reduced to DHS [dirhams] 1.8 billion (DLRS 500 million) from DHS 4.4 billion (DLRS 1.194 billion) last year according to banking estimates published here today. The bulletin estimates were based on a decrease in expenditure this year to DHS 14.8 billion or DHS 2.4 billion less than last years expenditure of DHS 17.2 billion while revenues remained the same at DHS 12.9 billion. [Text] [Manama WAKH in English 1600 GMT 14 Aug 85]

DUBAYY AIRPORT TRAFFIC--Dubayy, 12 Aug (WAKH)--Traffic at Dubayy International Airport witnessed an increase last month, compared to the same period in the preceeding year. According to statistics issued by Dubayy Civil Aviation Department passengers using the airport increased 7.86 percent while cargo increased 7.16 compared to the previous year. A total of 366,197 passengers used the airport compared to 300,480 passengers last July. The number of incoming passengers were 100,373 passengers, an increase of 4.37 percent over the previous year, while outgoing passengers were 117,910, an increase of 7.64 percent over the previous year. The total cargo volume reached 7,777,100 kilograms compared to 7,257,068 kilograms in the previous year an average of 250,874 kilograms daily. Exports accounted for 2,328,961 kilograms, while imports amounted to 5,600,962 kilograms. [Text]

IRANIAN INFILTRATORS ARRESTED--Umm al-Gaywayn--The Umm al-Gaywayn civil court has sentenced five Iranian infiltrators to 1 month's imprisonment and fined them 500 dirhams each. If the infiltrators do not pay the 500-dirham fine they will be imprisoned for another month. The Umm al-Gaywayn police captured those infiltrators in a taxi in Umm al-Gaywan. [Summary] [ABU Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 24 Aug 85 p 2]

AMBASSADOR TO JAPAN--Abu Dhabi, 23 Aug (WAHK)--The UAE president has issued a decree appointing Muhammad Darwish ibn Karam, chief of the Protocol Department at the Foreign Ministry, an ambassador to Japan. The UAE Foreign Ministry has received Japan's approval of the new ambassador. [Summary] [Manama WAKH in Arabic 0805 GMT 23 Aug 85]

CSO: 4400/241

**AFGHANTSTAN** 

#### KARMAL'S INTERVIEW PUBLISHED BY BAKHTAR

LD221430 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0415 GMT 21 Aug 85

[Text] Kabul, 20 August, BAKHTAR--Following is the text of an interview offered by Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the PDPA CC and president of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA, to a representative of CTK, Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, in Kabul:

[Question] The people of Democratic Afghanistan celebrated the seventh anniversary of April revolution some time ago. Would you please briefly explain the socio-economic transformations which have taken place during the last seven years.

[Answer] The April Revolution triumphed under the leadership of the PDPA as a result of the law-governed evolution of our society, as an answer to the dissatisfaction, aversion and repulsion of the broadest social forces of our society against the reactionary and tyrannical policies of the past anti-people regimes.

The revolution in accordance with its anti-feudal and anti-imperialist character, set to itself the general national and democratic tasks.

At the beginning, the victory of April revolution was warmly and universally welcomed by the people. But the evolution of the revolution was not only affected by the legacy of a backward society and the mistakes and deviations which happened at the beginning, but also faced with the interventions and aggression of imperialism and hegemonism organized from abroad. At present we are facing numerous complex economic, social and cultural problems, complicated by the mistakes and deviations of the first phase of revolution, while also engaged in the struggle against the undeclared war of reaction, imperialism and hegemonism.

With the revolution having resumed its principled evolutionary course, the leadership of the party was ensured in all spheres of the social life in the country, and objective grounds were created for the practical participation of the masses in the revolutionary process.

The popular character of the revolutionary transformations was reinstated. The abolition of feudal and pre-feudal relations as a result of the full implementation of democratic land and water reforms with the active participation of the working peasants of the country in this process and the growth of industry in the country are the pressing tasks of our national democratic revolution and are being realized successfully.

The revolutionary state performs and implements step by step the policy charted by it for raising the living standard of the people, improvement of the public health, provision of general social services for the entire population, elimination of illiteracy in the country, creation and expansion of the new system of universal and mass education, ensuring equality of rights of women with men and devoting all sides attention to the sound training and upbringing children, adolescents and youth.

The duties, rights and freedoms of the people have been enshrined in the fundamental principles of the PDPA and political and organizational work has been intensified among the masses. Broad measures have been taken for the mobilization of the creative force of the broad masses of the people towards the evolution of revolution and its defence. For the ever further consolidation of the political sovereignty of the working people and the expansion of its social pillars among the masses as well as for the democratization of the social life the National Fatherland Front comprising 16 social organizations has been created and the law of local organs of state power and administration in the DRA has been approved by the revolutionary council of the DRA. The law of local organs of state power and administration has provided vast grounds for the participation of masses in the administration of state affairs in localities and is an important step towards ever further democratization of social life.

Right now extensive preliminary explanatory work is taking place in the form of convocation of tribal and local assemblies for the creation of necessary conditions for the implementation of this law. The best representatives of tribes, ethnic groups and nationalities residing in our country are elected through these assemblies and directly participate in the solution of local problems. The revolutionary order has left profound effects on the life of the people in the most remote areas of the country and day by day leads the people towards new life.

But it should be mentioned that our revolutionary programs are realized in the conditions when the undeclared war of reaction and imperialism against our country is continuously acquiring broader dimensions and is being intensified. Imperialism equips and arms the professional bandits and mercenaries with the most modern weapons and technical facilities made in the member countries of NATO and China and exports them to our revolutionary country. But since the counter-revolution has been socially isolated and has lost the ability of direct confrontation with the armed forces and defenders of revolution in the cities, villages

and countries, it tries to destabilize the situation in the form of small destructive and terrorist groups attacking the economic and public utility institutions, and transportation facilities. Fortunately the consolidation and continuous expansion of the revolutionary power have caused resounding defeats of the ominous plans of the counter-revolution.

The revolutionary power, in the present difficult situation, deems its duty to ensure that parallel to the suppression of the exported armed counter-revolution as well as the foiling of the plots of the reaction, imperialism and hegemonism in the form of their undeclared war, it provides step by step perfect conditions for peaceful work and life and for the implementation of economic, social and cultural programs of the national democratic revolution.

It should be acknowledged that our revolutionary power does not [words indistinct] the accomplished programs and is not [words indistinct] historically great and difficult tasks for attaining the ultimate goals, that is the construction of a new and prosperous society lie ahead.

[Question] One of the most important events in the current year is the forthcoming commencement of local elections in a number of provinces. What are the importance of these elections in relation to the ever further strengthening of the revolutionary process in the DRA?

[Answer] The revolutionary power in the DRA is based on the unity of workers and peasants and expresses the interests of all the working people. In accordance with this principle, and taking into consideration the traditional characteristics of the tribes, ethnic groups and nationalities of Afghanistan besides the other measures aimed at the democratization of social life the law of local organs of State Power and administration has been approved by the Revolutionary Council of the DRA to ensure direct participation of the working people in the state and social affairs.

According to this law, which reflects the interests and the aspirations of the people and the specifics of the present phase of revolution, the organs of power and administration in localities will be elected through democratic election. The implementation of this law ensures the real equality and allsided growth of nationalities tribes and ethnic groups of the country. The working mases of Afghanistan through participation in the councils of provinces, districts, sub-districts, cities and villages, take for the first time genuine and all-sided part in the solution of state and social affairs, the representatives of the people as being the candidates of the National Fatherland Front will be elected for membership in the council and participation in executive committees of the new organs of power. Creation of the new organs of power in localities which takes place with the increasing participation of the working people through mass social organizations results in the consolidation of the people's power and expansion of its social pillars.

Our working people are taking first steps towards the implementation on the law of local organs of state power and administration. The inhabitants of most of the villages have held their assemblies and have elected chiefs of the villages. The election of councils in the villages is an important primary step towards achieving this end and constitutes of firm basis for the election of people's representatives in the council of sub-districts, districts and provinces. Up to now hundreds of assemblies have been held at the level of villages and this process continuously develops in the current year.

During this year, elections are going to take place in different provinces for the creation of local councils of state power and administration. This is one of the major and historical steps which has been taken in conformity with the customs and traditions of the people of Afghanistan for firmly founding the bases of a democratic society and to provide objective grounds for the direct participation of the people in the affairs of state administration.

Another most important step towards the ever further democratization of the social life in our country is the recent successful convocation of Loya Jirgah (Grand Assembly) of the representatives of the people of Afghanistan in Kabul. In this [word indistinct] Loya Jirgah which was convened with the participation of 1796 elected representatives of workers, peasants, craftsmen, intellectuals, spiritual leaders, chiefs of tribes and ethnic groups of our united homeland, discussion were held over the most pressing issues related to our people and society. This Loya Jirgah as being one of the most important political events of the recent years in our country and the best manifestation of the solidarity of the people with the revolutionary party and [words indistinct] that the friendly, traditional and historical Afghan-Soviet relations are a reliable guarantor of the peace and security in the country and one of the major factors in the preservation and consolidation of independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of our free and independent homeland.

The historical Loya Jirgah of the people of Afghanistan by approving and issuing a number of documents important for the life our people, declared its total support to the decisions of the party and state on the sealing, protection and defence of our borders as an important element in the normalization of the situation around Afghanistan and the cessation of shameless interventions and interference of reaction and imperialism in the internal affairs of our country.

[Question] The present aggressive foreign policy of the U.S. Government is practiced through broad support of the counter-revolutionary elements in the region and exerts a strong pressure on democratic Afghanistan. With the consideration of such conditions what is your view about the prospects of a political and peaceful solution between the DRA and the neighbors Pakistan and Iran?

[Answer] The carrying out of the revolutionary transformations is not only affected by the internal conditions as a major factor but by the favorable international conditions as well for this. The PDPA and the state of DRA continuously and in a persistent manner have defended peace in the world and in the region and try to improve relations with the neighboring countries of Iran and Pakistan, regardless of their socio-political system, on the basis of principles of respect to the sovereignty and national independence, equality of rights, territorial integrity, non-aggression and non-interference in the internal affairs of each other. But imperialism led by U.S. imperialism with the help of the reaction of the region and hegemonism has created a serious threat against our revolutionary homeland in the form of an undeclared war and intensifies it day by day.

Thousands of mercenaries are being trained, equipped and armed in the bandit training camps in Pakistan and Iran and the Xinjiang Province of China and are exported to our revolutionary country for destruction and bloodshed. The United States of America in addition to financing big weaponry purchases from Egypt and China and arming the counterrevolution by these weapons, has spent over one billion dollars in the undeclared war against our country, The number of the American military advisers and instructors in more than 120 military training camps of Afghan counter-revolutionary terrorist and bandits in the territory of Pakistan, reached to 318 till the end of last year. For the fiscal year, begun October 1, 1984 the U.S. has earmarked an amount of 280 million dollars for the military aid to the Afghan counterrevolution. In the same way, the USA intends to increase the number of the camps and American military advisers and instructors in Pakistan in the current year and even to create special schools for systematic military training for the ring leaders of the counter-revolution.

Parallel to the military assistance of the USA and reaction of the region and China play an important role in equipping, financing and arming of the exported counter-revolution. As an example we can name the 200 million dollar military assistance of the three countries of China, Saudi Arabia and Egypt which has been granted to the Afghan counter-revolution in [words indistinct] and Israel for amred [words indistinct] the order to conceal the shameless aggression and [passage indistinct] against the DRA to deceive the world population as well as to confuse the international public opinion in relation to [words indistinct] and internationalist assistance of the Soviet Union to the revolutionary Afghanistan and to misrepresent the true situation of our country and the achievements of April revolution, imperialism, led by U.S. imperialism has launched an unprecedented psychological war against the DRA. In financing this psychological war, the content of which is full of lies and fabrications, up to now the U.S. imperialism has spent millions of dollars. The imperialist and reactionary radios alone disseminate 300 hours a week of hostile and treacherous propaganda against our revolutionary country in our local and national languages.

In short, Washington by utilizing Pakistan as the spring board of aggression, has been practically changed into the principle center of commanding the undeclared war against the DRA, and CIA organization has unleashed one of the largest operations after the Vietnam war against our country. In addition to assisting equipping and arming the Afghan counter-revolution, the U.S. imperialism by sending new armaments to Pakistan and the number of other reactionary regimes in the region and concentration of the aggressive American military forces in the Gulf and Indian Ocean has aggravated tensions in the region more than any other time and by strengthening Pakistan, also threatens the peaceloving India. [sentence as received]

In such [words indistinct] based on the will of our people, we have always spared no efforts for the cessation of armed aggressions and interventions of imperialism, reaction and hegemonism against the DRA, removal of tension and creation of stability in the region.

The DRA in accordance with the principles of its peaceful foreign policy has put forward frank and constructive initiatives for the peace solution of the situation around Afghanistan. In these proposals, all means of reaching a solution being realistic, practical and acceptable to all have been put forward and envisaged. You can refer to the proposals of May 14, 1980 and August 24, 1981 of the DRA. We have always been of the opinion that the unresolved and disputed problems in relation to Pakistan and Iran can only be solved through negotiations. It is quite evident that attaining a solution of the present disputed problems requires a realistic approach by Pakistan and Iran according to the [words indistinct] yielding to the pressures of Washington, Beijing and other reactionary countries and forces.

In spite of these obstacles, we are making use of necessary tolerance and persistence towards aitaining a solution to the present conflicts and [passage indistinct] with Pakistan and Iran, and by welcoming the initiatives of the UN secretary general we [words indistinct] to follow the shortest path, that is, the direct negotiations for the solution of disputed problems with our neighbors. Any effort for irrelevant procrastination of the process of negotiations or its cessation would be an irresponsible action, contrary to the cause of peace and security of the peoples in our region.

CSO: 4600/606

### CITIZENS SAID PROTESTING BOMBING OF MICRORAYON MARKET

LD242227 Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1530 GMT 24 Aug 85

[Excerpts] More than 20,000 residents of Kabul's Microrayon marched this morning in order to express thanks for the awareness of the homeland's security forces and to denounce the inhumane and anti-Islamic actions of the criminals and elements related to reaction and imperialism, especially the perpetrators of the recent explosion in the Microrayon market. They held a meeting at the Microrayon's sports ground.

A BAKHTAR correspondent reports that at start of this meeting Abdol Latif Arian, an elected representative of the people in the local organs of power and administration, spoke on behalf of the resident of the first and second Microroyan. After this, the statement of the march of Kabul's toiling people, on the capture and trial of the perpetrators of the Microrayon market bomb, was read.

The BAKHTAR correspondent adds that at the end of the meeting the perpetrators of the Microrayon bomb appeared in front of the people and faced their anger and repulsion. The criminals bowed their heads in shame and expressed their regret. But the people, shouting slogans of "Death to criminals and death to leaders of counterrevolution", requested that the leaders of these criminals should also be tried.

CSO: 4600/605

**AFGHANISTAN** 

### IMPROVEMENT OF FARMERS LIVING CONDITIONS A GOVERNMENT GOAL

Kabul ANIS in Dari 7 Jul 85 p 4

/Text/ The land belongs to the person who works on it. This is one of the main mottos of the Sawr revolution and our revolutionary government considers its realization as one of its principal and undeniable duty. The realization of this goal will prepare the ground for social justice throughout the country since through the realization of this lofty and humane objective we can eliminate the bloody, murderous and parasitic clutches of those self-seeking individuals from the throats of the toiling farmers and improve their living conditions.

In an interview with the correspondent of ANIS, Gholam Ali, a toiling and patriotic farmer while making the above statement also added: The PDPA and the government of the DRA, after the victory of the triumphant Sawr revolution, particularly in its new and evolutionary stage for the elimination of an unjust feudalistic system and free distribution of land among the farmers, has taken effective measures to help the farmers, and likewise is continually making an effort to enhance and improve the living condition of the farmers.

Through the creation of mechanized stations in most of the provinces, the government has provided the ground for the farmers to be able to use modern tools and equipment in their job instead of the out-dated instruments. By providing the farmers with improved seeds and chemical fertilizers our revolutionary government has made it possible for our farmers to increase their agricultural output and enjoy a more prosperous and happier life.

He went on to say: We the farmers, strongly believe that if the undeclared war had not been imposed on our people and the revolution, the farmers would have been able by far to enjoy the achievements of the revolution. The experiences of recent years after the victory of the revolution have proven that enhancement and improvement of the living condition of the farmers and the expansion and strengthening of the accomplishments of the revolution is only possible after the elimination of the counterrevolutionaries. With this fact in mind, the role of the farmers in eliminating the armed counterrevolutionaries, becomes ever more evident with each passing day.

12719

CSO: 4665/119

AFGHANISTAN

TEN THOUSAND NEW FAMILIES TO RECEIVE LAND IN 1985

Kabul ANIS in Dari 4 Jul 85 p 2

/Text/ As is evident, farming constitutes one the major sectors of the national economy in Afghanistan. It is in this sector that 85 percent of the population is employed and 50 percent of the GNP is produced. During the years after the victory of the revolution, the new revolutionary government paid particular attention to the growth and development of agriculture.

However, as a result of the long domination of the obsolete feudalistic system of the past this sector of economy suffers seriously from an inherited backwardness. For instance, the median output for cereals from one hectare of land is 1.3 tons and that of cotton is only one ton, which are among the lowest throughout the world.

The main cause for non-development of our agriculture is the slow growth of generative and creative powers of our country.

In turn, this deficiency is a result of the domination of an unjust feudal system which lasted for several centuries and it was only after the victory of the revolution that it was eliminated. It has been specified in the action program of the PDPA that, as regards the land policy, the party believes that it is only through the elimination of the feudalistic system that it is possible to prepare the grounds for a rapid growth of the generative and creative powers and bring about a system whereby our farmers can directly enjoy the result of their own hard work and increase the level of agricultural production both to their own advantage and the benefit of society.

The tasks for the present stage of the agricultural sector have been precisely determined in the action program of the party. In addition to the continual execution of land and water reform, this project also consists of providing financial, technical and material assistance to the farmers and forming cooperatives together with the implementing the decisions which will enhance and improve the utilization of agricultural lands from the viewpoint of water shortage.

The party and the revolutionary government, which are decisively following the fundamental policy and the duties which have been outlined in the action progrm, have so far taken long strides toward realizing all these decisions. This fact made it possible for the GNP of the agricultural sector of last year to rise 6,000 million afghanis in comparison to the year 1978-79, a 7.3 percent in crease in growth. According to the land policy of the PDPA, last year more than

6,000 farmers' families, who had no land or had little land, received new land and similarly the amount of total credits awarded to the farmers in the same period reached 122.3 million afghanis. To this end, the farmers also received 136,000 tons of chemical fertilizers and 20,000 tons of improved seeds. In a like manner, an increase in the activities of the mechanized stations in the field of farming to the tune of 52,000 hectares of land is considered praiseworthy assistance to the farmers.

It is quite clear that all the above-stated accomplishments were attained in the face of difficult circumstances which have been brought about by the undeclared war of the imperialists and the international reactionaries against our land and people. If the problems, which have come about as a result of this imposed war, did not exist our nation would still have been able to attain much greater success toward its prosperity and happiness.

Also, during the current year the goals for the development of agriculture are to continue the implementation of land and water reforms, to expand and develope the cooperative movement, to provide credit and service facilities for the farmers, to expand the mechanized agricultural stations and to provide better land from the viewpoint of water and irrigation. In 1364/21 March 1985-20 March 1986/7, 10,000 new families will receive land and the land area under cultivation will increase by 6,000 hectares. Furthermore, it is our government's objective to distribute 130,000 tons of improved seeds, 22,000 tons of insecticides with a total value of 80 million afghanis. In the same period it is expected that the activities of the agricultural mechanized stations will increase to include another 61,700 hectares of land and the farm GNP of the cooperatives will reach a sum of 921 million afghanis.

The execution of the abovementioned plan and other relevant activities will provide the opportunity to gradually eliminate the system of agriculture which belonged to medieval centuries and will modernize and update our farming industry and thus provide the ever-increasing foodstuffs needs of the people, raw material for the industry and provide export goods and merchandise for trade. Modernization of agriculture along with the provision of fair and just land reform will provide the true opportunity for our farmers to attain happiness and prosperity.

12719

CSO: 4665/119

**AFGHANISTAN** 

## FARMERS COOPERATIVES SAID ESSENTIAL FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH

Kabul ANIS in Dari 30 Jun 85 p 2

/Text/ One of the effective ways to attain national economic growth, particularly in less-developed countries is to create agricultural cooperatives. Not only will the healthy expansion and development of agricultural cooperatives have undeniable significance in increasing the growth level of agricultural products, but from the viewpoint of unity and singleness of the farmers' organization for the realization of their goals, the role of cooperatives are nothing less than decisive.

In underdeveloped and less-developed countries the farmers have a smaller chance to make use of the land which is the main productive agent of agricultural products toward the growth of the national economy since the production process is sporadic and not well organized and the farmers have limited access to agricultural aid or assistance. Since the number of farmers with little land far outnumber those of the large landowners and because of various other existing difficulties, they can hardly afford to earn a decent living.

When we investigate the benefits of the creation of agricultural cooperatives in providing loans and other relevant facilities we clearly see that through the creation of such cooperatives it is possible to provide a wider range of facilities and easier means for providing loans to the farmers.

Through the utilization of credit services of the cooperatives, the farmers of the less-developed countries can increase the volume of their farm products and provide sufficient and varied foodstuffs for the ever-increasing population of their country, provide the necessary agricultural raw materials for their factories and other domestic institutions and they even will be able to obtain foreign exchange by exporting their surplus products.

The execution of the above-stated objectives is only possible through a healthy growth of agriculture by a reasonable and rational restructuring of the farmers within the framework of agricultural cooperative organizations. Moreover, the agricultural services of the cooperatives can be utilized in protecting and maintaining the pastures, forests and the water resources and so forth for the purpose of creating a greener and more developed environment and, in the long run, they can be used to create a progressive and powerful national economy. It is through the rational development of the agricultural cooperatives that it is possible to plan practical and scientific programs and implement them.

It is noteworthy to mention here that the output of contemporary technology in increasing farm products can be enhanced to a higher degree through the existence of agricultural cooperatives which will facilitate the process since a lack of necessary skill and know-how can be blamed for the backwardness of the society. In other words, the lack of use of modern technology in the field of agriculture will but naturally lead to a lower level of farm production while the need for the daily necessities keeps on rising.

Whenever the professional skill and know-how is properly channeled for the use of modern technical equipment and machinery to the development of farm products and whenever sufficient investment is available for the preparation and generalization of such technology, undoubtedly the level of agricultural output will increase by several fold and not only will it be able to provide for the domestic needs but also there is the possibility that there will be a surplus for export and thus another chance for obtaining revenue.

Man power, professional skill and know-how of the expert farmers have a determining effect on the rapid and healthy development of the economy. The more human resources are equipped with the science and experiences of the modern day technological achievements, the healthier will be the growth of agriculture and general economy of the society in question.

In the less-developed countries such as ours the cooperative system can be one of the most effective means of utilizing the capabilities and the driving force of society toward the growth of the national economy.

In a cooperative organization a toiling individual is highly regarded. That is to say, all the members of a cooperative organization are directly involved in the management and the final destiny of their cooperative. It is in such organization that the principle of equal rights which is one of the most valued principles of the organ challenges the individual capabilities and allows each member of the cooperative to directly express his views and suggestions in an effort to improve the lot of the organization or resolve the existing problems. All the decisions which are made in a cooperative meeting are based on one vote for each member and the amount of investments or shares of the members has no effect on the outcome of a vote.

Thus, a cooperative system insures the farmer member of as equal a right as any other member of the cooperative and enhances his confidence more than before to the unmitigated sincerity of this system. It makes the farmer sincerely believe that whatever product he produces as a result of his hard work and labor will belong only to him and nobody else can trespass or violate his rights, and therefore by proving so, the farmer will be encouraged to put in more effort in order to produce and provide more products and services to the society.

It is for this reason that the party and the government of the DRA give special importance to the growth and expansion of the cooperative movement throughout the country. As of the very beginning of the victory of the revolution, particularly its new and evolutionary stage, the government has taken and continues

to take firm and decisive steps to ever expand and strengthen this new phenomenon and provides extensive grounds for the availability of favorable financial and technical assistance such as providing farm machinery, fertilizers, improved seeds, bank loans, veterinary services and protecting the vegetables and plants and other similar services.

The main objective of the party and the government in providing such facilities to the farmers is to voluntarily attract them to join the agricultural cooperatives and induce them to produce more farm products more rapidly and introduce the necessary raw materials for the families of the farmers while at the same they provide the chance for the farmers to directly present their surplus products for sale to the city toilers.

It is only through the agricultural cooperatives that the toiling farmers can sell their farm products without middlemen, intermediaries and brokers at fixed prices and in turn they have access to purchase the necessary farm industrial equipment—and this is the greatest struggle toward attaining and realizing the glorious goals of the Sawr revolution.

12719

CSO: 4665/121

INDIA

GUJARAT GOVERNMENT INVOKES ANTITERRORIST LAW

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 24 Jul 85 p 1

ZText7

Ahmedabad, July 23: The Gujarat government has invoked provisions of the Anti-Terrorist Act to effectively put down the communal violence now rocking the state.

The government has asked the Gujarat high court to specify one court in each of the state's 19 districts for trial under the Act. These courts will try persons charged with using bombs and privately-owned firearms during the five-month-long communal disturbances.

The chief minister, Mr Amarsinh Chaudhary, announced in the state Assembly today that, any appeal against the decisions, could be made in the Supreme Court only.

The use of the Anti-Terrorist Act is the harshest measure the state government has taken so far to contain the violence. Police sources said arrests had already been made of persons involved in firing upon police forces. Three days back, the police unearthed a factory for manufacturing crude bombs and arrested five persons. They will be the first offenders to be tried under the Anti-Terrorist Act.

Violence continues

Two more persons were killed in the city today, taking the death toll since Wednesday last to 36. One person died when a crude bomb exploded in the Bapunagar area, and the other was stabbed to death near Dinabhai Tower in the Lal Darwaja area in broad daylight.

UNI adds: Two others were injured in separate incidents in the city today—a woman was wounded in a bomb blast and a man hurt in a stabbing incident.

Two days back, the police had seized country-made revolvers and explosives from an autorick-shaw. Interrogation of its four passengers had led to the discovery of the bomb factory.

Yesterday, the police inter-

cepted a car and seized about 15 live cartridges and some gelatine sticks, official sources said. The three occupants of the car were arrested.

CM's warning
In the state Assembly, replying
to the debate on the demands for
grants of the home and information departments, Mr Amarsinh
Chaudhary, who holds both the
portfolios, declared that the government would not tolerate terrorist actions.

He warned that those found using illicit arms and crude bombs, and indulging in acts leading to disturbances, would be detained under the provisions of the Anti-Terrorist Act.

Mr Chaudhary also assured the House that the state Anti-Social Activities (Preventive) Ordinance would not used against political opponents.

The government had issued orders to attach the property of those wanted under the ordinance and the National Security Act, he said.

CSO: 5650/0215

INDIA

# KARNATAKA LEGISLATORS CONCERNED OVER EXPLOSIVES THEFTS

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 31 Jul 85 p 1

[Text]

Our special Correspondent
Bangalore, July 30—The theft of
huge quantity of detonators from a
PWD store in the Hemavathi project
area of the State, more than a month
ago, rocked both Houses of Karnataka
legislature yesterday and today. Agitated members expressed their concern
and demanded a thorough probe into
the theft.

The issue was raised yesterday in the Assembly by Congress leader M. Veerappa Moily based on the newspaper reports disclosing that nearly 84, 000 detonators meant for blasting hard rocks in the project area were stolen from Hulikal village in Hassan district.

The matter was today raised in the Legislative Council by Opposition leaders T N Narasimha Murthy, D B Kalmankar, L G Havanur, Nage Gowda H K Patil. They demanded a CBI inquiry into the matter expressing their concern over the fact that about the same time as the theft in Karnataka took place, there were thefts of detonators and explosives in several other

States.

- According to reports, published in local newspapers, 73,000 detonators and three crates of explosives were stolen from Andhra; 72,119 detonators and one crate of explosives from Goa; 39, 230 detonators and nine crates of explosives from Tamilnadu; 12,750 detonators and 18 sticks of dynamite from Maharashtra; 16,000 detonators and seven crates of explosives from Guiarat; 33,210 detonators and 10 crates of explosives from Punjab, and 41,230 detonators and 117 sticks of dynamite from Madhya Pradesh whereas 84,000 detonators were stolen in Karnataka.

Referring to these reports, the agitated members expressed their grave concern and doubts that there appeared to be a 'diabolic conspiracy' behind these simultaneous thefts involving terrorists. They said the amount of

detonators stolen from Karnataka was the largest and accused the Government of not taking the matter seriously and failing to act immediately to apprehend the culprits.

Home Minister B Rachaiah who made a statement in both the Houses gave the details of the case already known to the public but refused to concede the demand of CBI inquiry. All, that he promised was further investigation into the case, "keeping in mind the concern expressed by the members".

According to a complaint registered with the police, "some miscreants unauthorisedly entered the stores containing detonators and committed the theft. They took away 83,900 detonators worth Rs 54,535".

The police registered a case under Sections 457 and 380 IPC and started investigation by pressing into service police dogs. But it was of no avail. Later they arrested three watchmen of the stores on 23 July and a little later one assistant store keeper and an attender.

CSO: 5650/223

INDIA

#### CORRESPONDENT WRITES ON MANIPUR INSURGENCY

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 28 Jul 85 p 9

[Article by Sumanta Sen]

[Text] Imphal—That there is no going away from insurgency anywhere in the north—east becomes evident immediately as one steps inside the tiny airport of Manipur's capital. The armed guards and the heavy stress on security is part of an air traveller's life anywhere in the country today but what distinguishes Imphal from other places is what appears on the walls all around.

La company and a second of

Starting at passengers from all sides are photographs of mongoloid faces. No distinguished sons of this land of Vaishnavism, these are, as the accompanying descriptions say, wanted members of the underground National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN). Self-styled "foreign minister" and "colonel" these gentlemen, as the notices announce boldly, carry prices ranging from Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 25,000 on their heads.

Their crimes are not mentioned in the notices but it is not difficult to guess what these might have been as for the last three years the NSCN has chosen the hilly areas of Manipur, particularly Ukhral District, inhabited by Tangkhul and other Naga tribes, as their happy hunting ground.

In close league with Manipur's own People's Liberation Organisation the NSCN boys carry out frequent raids in the area and only last week had made an unsuccessful bid to ambush an army patrol, resulting in Ukhral being brought under a 24-hour curfew which has become a regular feature of life in the Manipur hills.

The faces on the notices are those of young men and even the indifferent camera work has not been able to conceal the sharpness in their eyes and an air of determination. The onlooker is told that they can speak in English and Hindi, apart from their mother tongue, which not only indicates a fair education but also makes it clear that without their tunics they would have no problem melting away in the crowd.

That is one reason why the airport has been chosen as one of the places for the notices to be prominently displayed. Unlike a couple of years ago, one does not come across these so frequently in the town itself, one factor being that the valley is at present almost free from tension because of the near

disintegration of the PREPAK (People's Revolutionary Party of Kanglei Pak) organisation. And the new notices can be seen are all intact—when Mr Raj Kumar Dorendra was the chief minister it was very common for PREPAK supporters to tear up these posters no sooner had they been put up and also in broad daylight.

It is no secret that the present chief minister has shown greater firmness in dealing with extremism and for which he has been singled out as target. Sitting in his heavily guard-residence, Mr Rishang Keishing, spoke of the threatening letters he had received recently and said "Extremism here poses no danger to national security but only to a few individuals like us."

Mr Keishing also found it interesting that after a lapse of time such letters should "again start coming when a political instability is being sought to be created by some of my friends in the Congress itself."

But has not extremism helped the northeastern states in the sense that they today receive a kind of money for development which they perhaps would never have gotten otherwise? The chief minister pauses for a while, before answering: In a way you are right. It does appear that our needs received national attention only after the various extremist movements began." To another question whether ruling politicians would like extremism to mount as that would mean playing around with more funds, the chief minister only smiles and refuses to comment.

Instead, Mr Keishing speaks of the efforts to rehabilitate former extremists. About 300 have so far benefitted from government measures which include generous financial assistance to groups (ranging from Rs 5,000 to Rs. 30,000) or buying agricultural implements or for setting up poultries and piggeries. In addition, the government has also set aside 100 posts in class III and class IV categories for them and 73 of them have been filled so far. However, unlike Nagaland, Manipur is yet to recruit former rebels in the police department.

But the call of extremism continues to be strong and recruitments continue to be made to join those who have chosen a life across the distant hills in Burma. Estimated to number 85, they are currently under the leadership of Temba Sing, (the last of the 17 Manipur rebels who had been trained in guerrilla warfare and politics by the Chinese at Lhasa), their hosts being the outlawed Kachin Independent Army of Burma and the NSCN.

Their legendary leader, Bisheshwar Singh, is now an independent member of the Manipur assembly and appears to have given up for good the underground, but that has not served as an example to others who every now and then flee their homes to take up arms or remain in their hamlets to serve as contact men.

Mr Keishing estimates the number of such men in his home district of Ukhrul to be 20 but it could well be much more and he himself adds: "Their number is not important as long as there is even one, others will join him and we cannot rest unless we force them all to surrender."

A formidable task and till then, the notices on the walls, the guards and the curfews will continue to provide the atmosphere with a touch of tension.

CSO: 5650/220